McGRAW-HILL
SERIES IN
SOCIOLOGY

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
MAR 9 1961
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

HT1521
.W23
copy 2

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2021 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

https://archive.org/details/raceculturerelat00walt

RICHARD T. LAPIERE, *Consulting Editor*

RACE AND CULTURE RELATIONS

McGRAW-HILL SERIES IN
SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
RICHARD T. LAPIERE, *Consulting Editor*
SANFORD DORNBUSCH, *Associate Consulting Editor*

Baber MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY
Barnett INNOVATION: THE BASIS OF CULTURAL CHANGE
Bergel URBAN SOCIOLOGY
Bowman MARRIAGE FOR MODERNS
Davie NEGROES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY
Dornbusch and Schmid A PRIMER OF SOCIAL STATISTICS
Freedman, Whelpton, and Campbell FAMILY PLANNING, STERILITY, AND POPULATION GROWTH
Gittler SOCIAL DYNAMICS
Goode and Hatt METHODS IN SOCIAL RESEARCH
Hoebel MAN IN THE PRIMITIVE WORLD
Hoebel, Jennings, and Smith READINGS IN ANTHROPOLOGY
House THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
LaPiere A THEORY OF SOCIAL CONTROL
LaPiere COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR
LaPiere SOCIOLOGY
Lemert SOCIAL PATHOLOGY
Queen and Carpenter THE AMERICAN CITY
Schneider INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY
Tappan CONTEMPORARY CORRECTION
Tappan JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
Thompson POPULATION PROBLEMS
Walter RACE AND CULTURE RELATIONS

MAR 9 1961
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

RACE AND CULTURE RELATIONS

PAUL A. F. WALTER, Jr., Ph.D.
THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY, INC.
New York Toronto London
1952

III

RACE AND CULTURE RELATIONS

Copyright, 1952, by the McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. Printed in the United States of America. All rights reserved. This book, or parts thereof, may not be reproduced in any form without permission of the publishers.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 52–6008

To MY PARENTS

PREFACE

THE TEXTBOOK—the lesser partner in the enterprise of teaching—involves a division of labor between instructor and author. If the two happen to agree in their aims and points of view, the combination is indeed a fortunate one. Since there are many instructors with a variety of backgrounds and teaching philosophies, this textbook is designed to lend itself to numerous approaches, yet to maintain its own integrity. It was with this in mind that this book was written.

Two principal objectives have guided the author—both, apparently, in keeping with trends of the times. One has been to break with the confinement of the study of racial and cultural relations to those of the United States and to give more of a world orientation than has been customary. The other has been to set the study into the framework of the organic whole of emerging sociological theory.

The present generation of college and university students soon will carry the responsibility for American destiny in a period in which, as never before, this country will find itself with responsibilities and commitments in all parts of the world and among all peoples. Yes, they stand in danger, as have preceding generations, of lacking woefully in geographic, demographic, and comparative cultural insight, a lack which can only make their tasks and decisions more difficult and more freighted with the possibility of costly error. If this book can aid even slightly in promoting interest in these areas of understanding, it will have been well worth the writing.

Also, there has been a tendency in the rapid empirical growth of sociological knowledge to ignore the main theoretical body with which it should properly be integrated. Thus there has been an inclination to develop theories of race relations in disregard of their significance for the broader and more important task of developing a valid unified theory of all human relations. In so far as this book has brought out the larger implications and pertinence of our knowledge of racial and cultural groups and their characteristic modes of adjustment to each other, it should make a contribution to the soundness of the student's training.

Obviously, no one person could have a thorough firsthand knowledge of all peoples of the world and of all instances of intergroup relations. It is necessary in writing of such widespread and dynamic phenomena to depend principally upon the observations of others and upon a myriad of sources of varying degrees of reliability and lucidity. Yet, even such dependence should make for a wider extension of accurate knowledge and greater evenness in the quality of published materials by showing present gaps and inadequacies.

The field of racial and cultural relations needs no selling to instructors or students. It has its own appeal, testimony to which is the tremendous literature which has grown up in it, portions of which are available in every library of any considerable size. What is principally needed is careful guidance through the maze of differing, and frequently conflicting, interpretations.

This book would have been impossible without the use of previously published materials drawn from many sources. The author gratefully acknowledges the generous permission given by numerous publishers and copyright holders for specific direct quotations, and to many authors for their work which has become the foundation of this volume.

A number of persons have assisted materially in making this book, with all its imperfections, better than it otherwise would have been. Professors Lyle Saunders and Miguel Jorrin have read and constructively criticized portions of the manuscript while it was in preparation. Professor Richard G. Huzarski gave valuable technical assistance in working out the maps.

My wife, Valyne G. Walter, helped with the many routine operations which have gone into the project. Mrs. J. K. Culberston and Mrs. Ellen Walter were of great assistance in the typing of the various drafts of the manuscript.

PAUL A. F. WALTER, JR.

Albuquerque, New Mexico
May, 1952

CONTENTS

Preface vii

PART I. THE FRAME OF REFERENCE

Chapter 1. Races and Cultures 3

What is race? · The study of races · The sociological approach · Culture and human life · Ethnic groups · Summary

Chapter 2. Race Prejudice and Ethnocentrism 25

Race prejudice · Ethnocentrism and prejudice · The study of prejudice · Difficulties of study · Conditions favoring prejudice · Summary

Chapter 3. Acculturation and Assimilation 43

Acculturation · Assimilation · The study of assimilation · Conditions of assimilation · Summary

Chapter 4. Theories of Race and Culture 60

Theories of race · Theories of culture · Current theories · Summary

PART II. AREAS AND PEOPLES

Chapter 5. The World Setting 79

World population · Land and resources · World cultures · The rise of nationalism · Areas of conflict · Summary

Chapter 6. Races and Cultures of Asia 100

Land and people · Cultural groupings · Summary

Chapter 7. Australia and the Pacific Islands 121

Peoples of the area · Australia and New Zealand · Indonesia · The Philippines · Melanesia · Micronesia · Polynesia · Hawaiian Islands · Present appraisal · Summary

Chapter 8. Africa 143

General features · Historical background · Major regions · Results and trends · Summary

Chapter 9. Europe: Historical Background 164

Time perspective · Early civilization · The Jews · Recent changes · Summary

Chapter 10. Europe: Races and Cultures 185

The setting · Population trends · Ethnic complications · The problem of minorities · The Jewish problem · Religious map of Europe · Other general characteristics · Summary

Chapter 11. Latin America 207

Physiographic characteristics · Historical background · Races of Latin America · Cultural adjustments · Relations with the United States · Summary

Chapter 12. Canada 230

Population distribution · Races and cultures · French Canada · Indians of Canada · The Eskimo · Summary

Chapter 13. The United States: Background 247

Historical background · The American people · Physiography and resources · Population · Complexity of problems · Summary

Chapter 14. The Amerindians 267

The Navahos · The Pueblo Indians · The Apaches and other groups · Control of Indians · Summary

Chapter 15. The American Negroes: History 286

The slave trade · A divided nation · The War between the States and freedom · Reconstruction · The new accommodation · Summary

Chapter 16. The American Negroes Today 305

Racial aspects · Cultural adjustment · Social stratification · Changing relationships · Summary

Chapter 17. Spanish-speaking Americans 325

Racial factors · Cultural adjustment · Special problems · Summary

Chapter 18. The Jews and Anti-Semitism 342

The problem · Historical background · Extent of the problem · Factors involved · Attitudes involved · Summary

Chapter 19. Orientals in the United States 360

The Chinese · The Japanese · The Filipinos · The "Barred Zone" · Summary

Chapter 20. American Immigration 377

History · Quantitative factors · Qualitative factors · The assimilative process · Marginality · Immigrants and foreign relations · Summary

PART III. ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

Chapter 21. The Problem 397

Forces at work · Processes involved · Major considerations · Ideological complications · Summary

Chapter 22. Policy and Performance 415

Kinds of policy · Change and policy · Policy and diversity · Levels of policy · Performance · Science and policy · Summary

Chapter 23. Social Pathology and Ethnic Relations 433

Criminology · Family disorganization · Community disorganization · Health and related problems · Poverty and ethnic relations · Treatment · Summary

Chapter 24. Summary and Conclusions 450

Closing considerations

List of Visual Aids 461

Name Index 465

Subject Index 469

PART I

THE FRAME OF REFERENCE

CHAPTER 1

RACES AND CULTURES

Two world wars in the first half of the twentieth century and subsequent developments have been accompanied by profound disturbances in race and culture relations in all inhabited areas of the earth. Many intergroup adjustments which had existed so long that they had come to be looked upon as immutable became obsolete in a few months or years, with direct effects on the lives of hundreds of millions of persons. The general agitation became evident in the United States when hundreds of communities which had not been aware, within memory, of local race problems, suddenly found them insistently intruding themselves upon civic consciousness. The Negro largely displaced the Oriental as an immediate concern in cities of the Pacific Coast, the reservation Indians of Arizona and New Mexico demanded the vote and social-security benefits, and Puerto Ricans had moved in mass into New York City. While these and other developments demanded attention in the United States, elsewhere the changes were even more dramatic. For example, Britain found it expedient to relinquish political control of the subcontinent of India, and natives of Dutch Indonesia arose in a partly successful revolt.

From particularistic viewpoints, such developments have been interpreted as economic and political, and they undeniably have these aspects. They are also, and with equal significance, alterations in living arrangements among peoples who differ racially and whose cultures lie in contrasting historical streams. It is not, in the alarmist sense, the "rising tide of color" against the lighter races, for none of the races of man is a functioning unit; and none is, as a race, interested in making a common cause against other races. It is, rather, a convergence of numerous forces which has rendered many past accommodations untenable but which has not yet brought forth an adequate substitute system.

On a lesser scale than at present, such conditions of instability have occurred frequently in various places. The close of the War between the States marked the end of traditional and institutionalized arrangements between the Negro and "whites" in the South; the enforced "open doors" in China and Japan upset the cultural independence of those countries by destroying the protective isolation which had made it possible. In each of these cases, and in others which might be listed, the disruption of the old was followed by a period of groping toward new adjustments, a period characterized by conflicting forces and ideologies. Without doubt most of the people of the contemporary world have entered, to a greater or lesser extent, an interstitial epoch between the outmoded and the emergent patterns of ethnic relationships, a period which will last for generations. Human relations are always complex, even at the simplest levels; but when hundreds of millions of persons are involved in changing patterns, their understanding involves a major challenge to the best analytical efforts of which man is capable.

It is in such a setting that a student undertakes the study of race and culture relations at the present time. In such a study, approaches reflecting interest only in supporting normative standards of good and bad, or in placing blame on persons, groups, or institutions, are not adequate. What is needed is careful and critical investigation, at least a part of which must be devoted to clearing away misconceptions, separating fact from fiction, and clearly defining what is to be studied.

WHAT IS RACE?

The beginning of clear thinking is clear definition. Turning to a dictionary, one finds a definition of race which reads: [1]

> The descendants of the same ancestor; a family, tribe, people, or nation taken as of the same stock; a lineage; breed; also a class of individuals with common characteristics, interests, or the like.

Such a definition is of slight use to one who wishes to pin the term down to some one, identifiable thing to the exclusion of other loosely related phenomena. A family, a people, and a nation are quite different groupings; groups characterized by certain physical characteristics may not have common interests, and the converse is equally probable. To reach a workable definition it is necessary to settle on one specific meaning which has pertinence and which can serve to distinguish race from everything else. Scientists, in their efforts to do this, have come to agree that the human races are biological phenomena in their essence and must be defined in biological terms for scientific purposes. This does no violence to general usage but serves, as will be indicated later, to sharpen our focus and help us communicate findings and theories clearly.

---

[1] *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary,* G. and C. Merriam Company, Springfield, Mass., 1946, 5th ed.

Race, as treated in this book, is defined as follows:

A race is a large division of human beings distinguished from others by relatively obvious physical characteristics presumed to be biologically inherited and remaining relatively constant through numerous generations. It is comparable to "race" as a biological class of other living things which belong to the same species but show variations in the common qualities of the species.

Thus a race, to the scientist, is not a family, not a nation, and not necessarily a group showing a common interest "or the like." The kinds of criteria which may be used in separating men into races are made clear as far as their general nature is concerned, and there arises the possibility of asking answerable questions concerning the phenomena of race, whether or not answers have been found as yet, or are agreed upon.

Origin of Concept. Even though it has been necessary for scientific purposes to refine the definition of race, the origin of the idea of race lies in common-sense observation. Long before the beginnings of modern scientific inquiry, it was a commonplace observation that men differed in various obvious ways, such as skin color, facial features, and stature. The basic fact of the existence of races has always been open for verification on every hand by those with any considerable range of human contacts.

As is true of many common-sense observations, those of racial differences have been relatively casual, unsystematic, and often have confused physiological with cultural and other differences. Among the earliest observations of this type of which we have records, the emphasis was upon the difference between members of one's own group and the "barbarians" with alien ways. Groups with strong religious bonds and feelings differentiated chiefly between the "believers" and "unbelievers." In more recent times, with the rise of nationalism as a principal bond within groups, there has been a consistent tendency to confuse race with nationality. It has been the task of the scientific student of race to separate all such other distinctions from the purely racial ones.

The separation of confused ideas in this regard has not been a simple task, as will be further shown in a later chapter dealing with the history of racial theory. In fact, it has yet to be carried to the point where there can be complete consistency, but the area of agreement has become sufficient so that it is possible now for scientists to discuss methodically the problems of their investigations.

Analysis of Definition. In the definition of race as used in this book there are a number of points which require some consideration. The first of these is that race is a term applied to large divisions of mankind, a requirement necessary to keep the concept manageable when it comes to classification. There are numerous examples over the world of small tribal and community groups who have lived in partial isolation and under somewhat peculiar environmental or other conditions, and thus have developed some characteristic physiological features in which their members differ from those of other groups. While in some descriptive literature such small groupings are called races, to do so adds needless complications to an already complex problem. Such is the case of the hundreds of tribes of American Indians, members of which often differed in some small way from members of neighboring tribes. Even though such differences might be physiological and inherited, it is the usual scientific practice to consider all Amerindians as belonging to the same race.

Since the fact of race was originally established by common-sense observation, lines of distinction used to classify races are limited to those which are relatively obvious, at least to discerning observers. In recent years the students of race have become interested in possible groupings on the basis of blood types, and previously some attention had been given to possible differences in brain size and weight, but these investigations were exploring the meaning of obvious racial differences rather than intended to establish the fact of racial variation or to provide criteria for classification. The most commonly used bases for classification of racial groups are skin color, facial features, hair texture, head form, and stature, all of which are relatively obvious on close observation.

The presumption of biological heredity and the relative constancy of the inherited features are necessary to our definition to eliminate from consideration many bodily characteristics which are known to be fluctuating in the life of a given individual, or which result from customary practices such as deliberate mutilation. Some peoples bind the feet or heads of infants in such ways as to affect their shape and size, paint their faces or bodies, use various kinds of headdress, but the distinctions arising from such practices are not racial differences.

Science, as yet, has but limited knowledge of human heredity and its mechanisms. It is not entirely clear just which human characteristics are carried in the germ plasm or which result from environmental factors; but at the present state of knowledge it seems a safe assumption that what are considered the basic racial differences are physiologically inherited.

Finally, since individuals of different races can and do interbreed and have offspring, all belong to the same species, *Homo sapiens,* which is one species in the larger classification, or genus, the *Anthropoidea,* in which are included such nonhuman, but biologically closely related, animals as the ape and the monkey. In this same biological classificatory scheme, each race is a variety within the human species. For an analogy, all dogs belong to a single species, which is a branch of the genus *Canis* including besides dogs such animals as wolves, jackals, and foxes. Within the dog species (*Canis familiaris*) there are numerous varieties, such as the spaniel or the terrier, which may interbreed, accounting for the large number of mongrel dogs. But there is far less variation among humans than among dogs.

THE STUDY OF RACES

The study of races has been of interest to many branches of science, and what understanding we now have of the phenomena of race comes from numerous fields. Biologists, physiologists, and geneticists have made important contributions, as have psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists, human geographers, and historians. Some of these contributions have been positive, that is, have helped tell us what race is and what it means. Most contributions, however, have been negative, telling us what race is *not*. It is doubtless true that scientists, generally, with their insistence upon objectivity and accuracy, are more hesitant in making sweeping generalizations and unqualified statements about race than are most laymen with their less exacting approaches.

The great preponderance of evidence and sound logic seems to place it beyond controversy that racial differences and similarities are a part of the general scheme of biological evolution and may be accounted for in the same way that persisting differences and similarities among nonhuman living things are explained. It seems equally beyond serious question that all races of man belong to a single human species, that is, they can interbreed freely (in the absence of cultural and social prohibitions) and without demonstrable deteriorating effects and that, as functioning organisms, members of all races of man are essentially the same. The gap between any racial type and the nearest nonhuman animal is biologically far greater than that between any two contrasting racial types.

Classification of Races. Physical anthropology is the branch of science which has been concerned chiefly with the classification of men into races. In so far as physical anthropologists are in general agreement, there are three broad divisions of man, within which nearly all human types may be included: the Mongoloid, the Caucasoid, and the Negroid. The Mongoloid are the most numerous, comprising roughly half the world's present population. In this group are included a number of subtypes or subraces, such as the Chinese, the Mongolians, the Eskimos, and the Amerindians

(American Indians). These, it will be noted, are primarily Asiatic peoples, with the exception of the American Indians, who presumably had their origins on the Asiatic continent and only in recent times (considering the entire span of human history) migrated to America.

Next to the Mongoloid peoples, in numbers, comes the Caucasoid race, which includes chiefly Europeans and their descendants over the earth. This is the so-called "white race" of popular and pseudoscientific literature and discussions. It, too, includes subraces, the most important of which are the Nordic peoples of northern European origin; the Alpine, or peoples of central European origin; the Mediterranean, or peoples of southern European origin; and the Armenoid, or "white" people of southwestern Asia.

The least numerous of the major racial groups is the Negroid, including mainly the peoples of African origin, but also some peoples apparently native to parts of southeastern Asia and some of the Pacific islands. To this racial group belong the American Negroes. There are several recognized subraces, the main distinction being that between the great majority of Negroid peoples of average or greater stature, and the numerically fewer pygmy peoples such as the Negrito and Negrillo.

The three major groupings overlap, and around the periphery of the more or less well-defined core of each are numerous peoples about whose precise classification there is lack of agreement, or who do not seem to fit into any one of the major categories.

The difficulties of racial classification are reflected by the statement of one anthropologist: [2]

> There are doubtless many human races. However, the make-up of breeding populations has shifted so frequently in the course of migrations that sharp demarcations are few. Moreover, human inheritance is so complex and so imperfectly known as yet that differences in visible physical features are not always sure guides to differences in ancestry. The extent of present confusion is indicated by the fact that the numbers of races distinguished by competent students range from two to two hundred. Hence, though the concept of race is genuine enough, there is perhaps no field of science in which misunderstandings among educated people are so frequent and serious.

This confusion arises in part from the difficult problem of criteria on which to base classifications. The human organism presents hundreds of obvious features in which one individual may differ from another, or group may differ from group. The questions for the physical anthropologists are which of these characteristics to use for classification purposes, and how many to use.

---

[2] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949, pp. 102–103.

The criterion most closely related to casual common-sense observation is that of skin color, and it is one which is also employed, although more guardedly, by the experts in the field. It led to such early lists as the white race, the brown race, the red race, and the yellow race. However, as a basis for actual classification, skin pigmentation is crude. Skin color is itself much too subtle for such contrasting descriptive terms. In a true sense of color there is no such thing, nor has there ever been, as a "white" man, the very idea being ghastly. Nor is any Indian ever red, except in those spots covered by war paint. Under close scrutiny, even the darkest of Negroid persons is never actually black. The skilled portrait painter never goes at his task with only a single pure pigment on his palette —rather he resorts to many colors and mixtures of pure colors. In painting a "white" person he may use generously of pink, brown, blue, and even green. A little reflection adds the difficulty that the skin coloring of any individual may change from time to time, even within a few hours. When a number of individuals supposedly belonging to a single race are placed side by side, it is obvious that they show a range of skin color so great that the skins of many members of the "darker" races may be lighter, actually, than the skins of many members of presumed "lighter" races.

Thus skin pigmentation, while a useful starting point, does not lend itself to the exacting task involved in classifying people racially. It is supplemented by other criteria such as the color, form, and texture of hair, the facial angle, nasal angle, color and shape of eyes, and the distance between them, the shape and size of lips, general bodily structure, including stature, the relation of the length of arms and legs to the total height, and relative presence or absence of hair on the face and other parts of the body.

In the classification of subracial groups, a favorite criterion of the physical anthropologist is head form, and especially the cephalic index, or the ratio of length to breadth of skull at the longest and widest points. In this scheme, people fall into three roughly distinguishable groups: the brachycephalic, or round-headed; the dolichocephalic, or long-headed; and the mesocephalic, or intermediate between long- and round-headed.

Criteria based on the skeleton and head shape present several advantages. They lend themselves readily to measurement and statistical treatment. The bones in the mature adult are presumably less changeable than are the softer tissues and surface covering. By such factors, skeletal remains as well as living persons may be classified, so that the criteria can be applied to the very earliest human and prehuman remains in efforts to link them with existing races. It must be noted, however, that not even the human skeleton is entirely determined in all its details by biological inheritance. Pueblo Indian babies who spend the early years of infancy strapped to cradle boards usually, therefore, have flattened heads. Various peoples have practiced head binding which has tended to distort head shapes of groups. Diseases of the bones, malnutrition, and factors not hereditary in nature may enter to determine skeletal characteristics.

Theoretically, the more criteria are applied to racial classification, the more accurate and reliable results would be, for the agreement of numerous criteria would tend to minimize errors due to fortuitous variations in one or a few characteristics. Actually, however, the point is soon reached in the multiplication of criteria where classification becomes unmanageable and unrealistic. As more and more bases for classification are added, the chance of agreement among all or most of them in any considerable group of individuals declines. People who agree closely in skull shape may well vary considerably in stature; and a select group which is uniform in head form and stature may vary considerably in skin pigmentation and color of eyes.

Significance of Race. Despite all difficulties of precise classification, the stubborn fact of racial differences remains. The scientific classification of races is simply the starting point for the more important consideration of the meaning of racial differences in terms that are significant for the understanding of human life problems. A further question concerns the origin of races, and it has come in for much scientific as well as popular speculation. At one time, as will be noted later, there was a prevailing notion that the different races represented distinct human ancestry in evolutionary terms. At present, however, scientists are mainly agreed on the monogenetic theory of races, which is the idea that all races had, originally, an identical ancestry at the point where a distinctively human type branched off from the more basic anthropoid class of creatures. This, by implication, would explain races as the products of various environmental and other life conditions which operated on different human groups long separated and isolated. Such an explanation of race differences presents problems for geneticists, but they are not greater than similar problems in connection with other forms of living things.

Closely related to the problem of racial origins is the hypothesis, once widely held, that each race represented a different degree of biological primitiveness. Under this notion some racial groups were thought of as being nearer in type to nonhuman anthropoids, such as apes, while others (always including the "whites") were far removed from such embarrassing evolutionary cousins. Careful study of somatic evidence shows such views to be untenable. Races which have some seemingly "primitive" physiological features, as, say, receding forehead and protruding jaw, display other characteristics which would place them at the least "primitive" end of the human scale, such as absence of facial and bodily hair.

Associated with earlier ideas of relative biological primitiveness were the once widely held notions that some races were, as races, particularly susceptible or resistant to certain diseases and that food, drink, or drugs which some races could absorb with impunity were poisons for individuals of other races. Typical applications of such theories are the laws which forbid the sale of intoxicating liquors to Amerindians even where such liquors may be sold to members of other races.

Accumulating evidence has shown that, while individuals and groups may and do develop resistances and immunities, they are acquired quite independently of true racial considerations. People of the Caucasoid race can learn to live in the tropics or at the North Pole in a generation's time, and Negroid peoples have been able to adapt themselves to every climate and condition of life to which other peoples have adapted. Such diseases as tuberculosis, which were once thought of as being largely racial diseases, we now know result chiefly from the circumstances within which people live, not from any racial characteristic as such.

Race Psychology. What is often called race psychology is the study by psychologists and others based upon the hypotheses that obvious physiological differences (although superficial) must mean a corresponding difference in mental and neural equipment of groups. This notion has its roots in common-sense observation—that peoples, as groups, have different life ways, beliefs, skills, and manners. Such study comes close to the heart of the problem of the significance of race in view of the tendency of the past few centuries to place great importance upon certain mental qualities as vital in human and individual welfare and progress. The question raised is whether members of some races are genetically better equipped in mind and temperament than members of others.

Studies in race psychology have included investigation of comparative intelligence, mental capacity, achievement, temperament, and personality traits of members of racial groups. None of the methods used has completely isolated the factor of race from other factors which have a possible or probable bearing on results, such as the social system and class structure within which racial groups live; the diets, schooling, and incentives or discouragements to effort in which racial groups often differ; or the social value schemes which members of races may acquire or to which they may be subjected.

One favorite type of study has been the comparison of the number of great men, geniuses, or successful persons whose names appear in *Who's Who* or similar compilations, according to presumed racial descent. Any such comparison obviously raises questions of definition and criteria of selection but leaves uncontrolled such factors as opportunity and incentive, so as to be practically worthless from a scientific point of view. For the same reasons, even less can be learned from such sweeping generalizations sometimes advanced, even by serious scholars, as that only the "white" race has ever developed great civilizations. By defining terms to suit one's self, selecting arbitrary criteria, and choosing "proofs" uncritically, one can support such a notion to the satisfaction of a sympathetic reader, but nothing is gained in knowledge or understanding.

The development of intelligence, achievement, and other standardized psychometric tests has provided a fund of potentially more reliable data. Some of it may be, and has been, interpreted as indicating or even "proving" inherent differences of mental capacity between racial groups; but such interpretations have also been widely challenged, and other interpretations of seemingly equal validity have been set up beside them. Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb, in a recent summary of comparative racial studies, concluded: [3]

> Ten years ago it would have been our clear though distressing duty to report all the work in the comparison of races by means of individual and group intelligence tests, including work done with children as well as with adults. It would have been valuable, if true, to report, for example, that 39.6 per cent of all Chippewa Indians between 11 and 14 years of age surpassed the median of the native-born white child on the Pintner-Paterson performance scale. From a historical point of view, the dozens, nay hundreds, of meticulous studies of race differences which have been provided are not to be belittled. They definitely contributed to the technique of testing, to the study of discrepancies obtained when groups are measured by various kinds of standard tests, and to the final awakening to the fact that people grow up in a social world rather than in a vacuum, and that their behavior on mental tests reflects that social world as does the dialect they speak, the religion they profess, and the prejudices they like to air. A relatively small amount of all this material can be regarded as at present worth the time of any readers except those whose interest is definitely antiquarian. . . .

---

[3] Gardner Murphy, Lois B. Murphy, and Theodore N. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1937, rev. ed., pp. 52–53.

From the accumulated studies of race psychology which have some validity the principal facts which emerge are:

First, there is greater variation among individuals within any racial group than between race and race as groups, as far as measurable neuropsychic equipment is concerned.

Second, it follows, and is demonstrated, that there is a large overlapping in the performance of racial groups, the highest scores of one group always exceeding the lowest scores of other groups.

Third, the members of any one racial group who live under conditions apparently favorable for mental development make significantly higher scores than members of the same racial group who live under less favorable circumstances.

It may be said, in summary, that the results of studies of race psychology have been mainly negative, in the sense that they have tended to dislodge many widely accepted notions without, however, having given us final and positive answers to the problems of significant racial differences. They have also tended to emphasize the importance of race *relations* and cultural influences as determinants of racial destinies and achievements.

The quest of the truly significant in the understanding of race leads us inevitably to the study of human relations. The conditions of mental development which so long confused the issue for psychologists are largely those which stem from systems of class and caste, and from concomitant variations between wealth and poverty, and thus, learning and ignorance. Problems of the biologist and physical anthropologist are greatly aggravated by degrees of racial mixture which are determined largely by social acceptance or taboo. The very fact of race difference is rooted in common-sense observation, and what is common sense is largely a matter of traditional group definition arrived at through known cultural processes. Thus, of the various strands by which the problems of race may be unraveled, the most promising appears to be that which lies in the sphere of human relations and nonphysiological phenomena of human group life, the realm of the social sciences.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

Sociology is properly the study of ever-changing patterns of relationships among human beings.[4] Particular aspects are the relationships which exist among racial and cultural groups, and between members of such groups. Such social phenomena are being submitted increasingly to the same kind of systematic and objective examination as are the phenomena of the natural sciences, with the result that there is an ever-growing body of factual knowledge and sound theory about aspects of human life and behavior which had, until recently, been the province of folk wisdom and unfounded speculation.

---

[4] Those desiring a more complete treatment of sociology and the sociological approach will find many excellent textbooks. Recommended are R. H. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology*, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadel-

The method of sociology, like that of other sciences, is basically careful observation and the continuous modification of theories and hypotheses in the light of such observations. Since the range of any individual's opportunities to observe is limited, the development of the science depends upon the work of many persons, and the integration of their efforts exerted in many places and at many times. As among the youngest of sciences, sociology has not yet reached the maturity of development or prestige of some of the physical and biological sciences, but the direction and promise of its development are evident and convincing. This volume is devoted mainly to the exposition of the sociological contributions to the understanding of race and culture relations.

Peculiar Problems. Some of the problems and difficulties of other scientific approaches to the understanding of race phenomena have been detailed. There are additional and peculiar problems in the sociological study of race relations. Not only must the sociologist be cognizant of the meaning of race in its biological sense, and of its psychological and other implications, but he must be concerned equally with what are the prevailing ideas regarding race, no matter how far such notions depart from scientific definition and accuracy. Race relations are based not only on the fact of race differences among men, but also on many more or less inaccurate beliefs and feelings about race, which, though fallacious, determine human behavior when groups come into contact. Studies in physiology and physical anthropology, as necessary as they are for clear understanding and thinking, contribute little, in themselves, to revealing why race feelings and relations take the forms that they do in specific situations. *It is not what race actually is, but what people think and feel about race that determines race relations.*

---

phia, 1948, rev. ed.; Richard T. LaPiere, *Sociology,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1946; and for an introduction to the several social sciences, Paul A. F. Walter, Jr., *The Social Sciences,* D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., New York, 1949.

As one sociologist has written: [5]

> It is quite proper to urge that some races are so called without any warrant in anthropology or biology for the designation. While this may be exactly true, it makes no difference whatever in the nature of racial conflict. From the standpoint of sociology, a race is not one which is anthropologically different or biologically demonstrated. A race with which people are in conflict are a group of people who are *considered* as a race, and these thoughts or considerations are determinative in conduct and in attitude. . . .

What people believe about racial differences often stands in contrast to accepted scientific findings and theory. Among the widely accepted popular fallacies is the notion that races are different species, that interbreeding among racial groups leads to biological deterioration, that some races are superior and others inferior, and that only one race has the qualities necessary for developing civilizations. The ideas of racial superiority and inferiority are supported by beliefs regarding the relative primitiveness of races in the evolutionary sense, by notions of innate psychological, temperamental, and other racial differences, and by beliefs in racial poisons and immunities. All these notions have been explored by scientists, as previously noted, and have been discarded outright or brought under strong doubt. Nevertheless many of the current popular beliefs were at one time accepted by scientists who gave them currency or support, so that present popular fallacies represent lags between newer and later scientific discoveries and popular knowledge.

Regardless of the sources of popular misconceptions, even fallacious beliefs are a necessary part of the data of the sociologist who, though recognizing them as false as far as factual evidence is concerned, must also see in such beliefs vital forces in their own right. Erroneous ideas, when rooted in long tradition or when they give support to cherished human institutional arrangements, stubbornly resist change. Long after their rationality has been brought into serious question, they may persist in governing human affairs.

Characteristic of popular thinking about race is a lack of precision and clarity of definition. The result is undiscriminating identification of race with other types of phenomena, such as the confusion of race with religion, nationality, language, and with other cultural similarities and differences with which daily discourse abounds. The references to the Italian race, the Jewish race, the Semitic race, and the Anglo-Saxon race are typical of this kind of confusion. Because such errors are so much a part of race relations, it is impossible to study race relations in disregard of them, so that the sociological approach to race relations must include large areas of cultural relations as well.

---

[5] Ellsworth Faris, *The Nature of Human Nature,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1937, p. 341.

Dynamics of Race Relations. Racial similarities and differences of a biological nature are relatively fixed through time, by comparison with the patterns of relationships among groups with real or fancied racial differences. The changeability of relationships gives rise to further problems for the sociologist, as it also gives him clues for understanding the nature of such relations. Relations between the native Amerindians and white Europeans in America have fluctuated widely and frequently through history and are still changing, just as is true of white Europeans and the Chinese in the Orient. Probably the first important truth regarding race relations to be gained from careful historical and contemporary observation is that the adjustments between different racial groups are of no fixed or biologically predetermined kind; they change with events and conditions.

The changes in the nature of adjustments among racial groups, or among groups thinking of themselves as racially different, are both cause and effect of changes in attitudes and beliefs which bear upon those adjustments. The Amerindian has been at various times and places, from the point of view of white European peoples, an ignorant savage to be enslaved if possible, a benighted soul to be saved by Christian instruction, a deadly and treacherous enemy to be killed on sight, and the noble Redman to be emulated in his virtues. Even Hitler, posing as the fanatical exponent of Aryan purity, was able, when expedient, to stretch a point and declare the Japanese to be "honorary Aryans." The very confusion in popular thinking about race makes it possible for those with their own purposes to serve to manipulate such thinking to support their ends. A significant part of the history of race relations has been the story of such manipulations.

The term "racism" is often used to describe those popular fallacies which contribute to general ideologies of racial superiorities and inferiorities. Racism is one of many manifestations of ethnocentrism, the almost universal tendency for every cultural group to consider itself as normal, natural, and right in its life ways and modes of thinking, while all other groups, to the extent that they depart from those ways, are wrong, unnatural, and abnormal. Ethnocentric roots go deeper than simple ignorance of facts, for it has been repeatedly demonstrated that the best informed and wisest of people at times share ethnocentric biases of one kind or another. The real root lies in the essential nonrationality of human group life, which is shaped and channelized, at the level of both thought and action, by forces which are sentimental rather than rational in their nature, even though they may serve long-run ends which may be considered as reasonable.

CULTURE AND HUMAN LIFE

The nonrational forces which are determinant in many aspects of human life are mostly cultural in origin. They are customary and traditional and are seldom subjected to critical scrutiny by the groups and group members who are affected by them. Culture, as the term is used by sociologists and cultural anthropologists, is the totality of group ways of thought and action which are widely accepted and followed by a group of people. Each culture group has its own distinctive cultural characteristics, and often the ways of one group contrast sharply with the ways of other groups. Through time, cultures are continuously changing, but they also are highly resistant to change so that changes occur, usually, at a slow rate.

Every individual is born into a preexisting culture, and those with whom he is destined to associate are the carriers of that culture. In his associations, as he develops from infancy to adulthood, he acquires aspects of his culture so completely that its ways come to appear the normal, natural, and right. Thus, he, too, becomes a carrier of the culture and so helps in its perpetuation.

Importance of Culture. Culture, in the sense that the term is being used, has given man his dominant position among living things and quite probably has enabled him to survive. If an individual were to develop in isolation from the influence of other human beings—culture carriers—he would show so few of what we usually think of as distinctively human traits of behavior as to be helpless in the face of the many problems of survival. He would be without the strength, speed, and other natural equipment of other animals, he would lack the instinctive equipment of insects and many animals, all of which qualities enable them to survive. Nor would he have at his disposal the accumulation of knowledge and wisdom of countless generations of his own kind. Even with his peculiar brain and its well-developed cerebrum he could learn only such vital things as what to eat and what not to eat, which natural enemies to approach and which to avoid, by more or less blind trial and error, with the chances of fatal error seemingly overwhelming.

Culture is the learned ways of acting and thinking which are transmitted by group members to other group members and which provide for each individual ready-made and tested solutions for vital life problems. While the rudiments of the transference of acquired habits from old to young may be seen in some of the higher animals, only in man is the scope of such transmission so broad as to constitute the major factor in his life adjustment. Thus culture may be thought of as a highly distinctive and important human attribute, but it is essentially a group attribute and never the invention of an isolated individual.

The basic needs of human organisms are everywhere and always the same and, to that extent, the fundamental problems of all peoples are identical; but it does not follow that the ways of all peoples in meeting these problems, or even their ways of looking at them, are the same. Different groups of people hit upon and cherish different life ways both of acting and of thinking, and these differences set them apart as culture groups. Such divisions among peoples take on their own significance in the thinking of group members and provide the ethnocentric attitudes that enter so importantly into intergroup relationships.

Every human culture is a historical growth, and only as such can it be explained or understood. Since the very essence of culture is its transmission through generations, a culture may be thought of as the experience of the past entering as a determinant of thought and action in the present, and carrying, of course, important relation to the future of a group. The historical development of a culture is mainly cumulative, in that additions to its content are always being made, but often without discarding the old, even though there may be, from a strictly rational point of view, an actual or implied conflict between new and old. Thus cultures, while essential to human life and welfare, cannot be judged by rigorous standards of efficiency or logic. While it is salutary to consider what cultures should be, they can be studied and comprehended only as they are.

Complexity of Cultures. The essential contributions of man's culture-acquiring and -developing capacities may be noted simply as those of giving him the ability to survive and gain a degree of ascendency over his natural environment, but it would be very misleading to describe existing human cultures in such simple, functional terms. The very capacities which have enabled man to meet life exigencies through cultural means have also made it seemingly inevitable that he should construct vast superstructures of group ways, beliefs, and attitudes upon the relatively simple foundation of the knowledge and wisdom necessary for coming to terms with the hazards of nature. Even the simplest of known culture systems among those who are considered the most "backward" of human groups are surprisingly complex. They include not only the transmitted modes of gaining food, essential shelter, and bodily security, but also elaborate beliefs and rituals for adjustment to the supernatural and for establishing intricate arrangements between man and man, and group and group. Indeed, quantitatively considered, the greater part of every human culture is devoted to the latter types of problems rather than to the former.

It is commonplace to analyze culture systems in such widely, though often vaguely, used terms as "economic activities," "political institutions," "religious beliefs," etc., thus indicating their elaborate composition and the variety of human needs and supposed needs which they fulfill. Such terms also indicate the numerous points at which cultures may differ from each other and regarding which ethnocentric views about other culture systems may arise in any group. Not only are there the specific differences between group ways in regard to any of these categories of human behavior, but there are also differences in the amount of emphasis each cultural segment is given in relation to others in particular cultures. In our own culture, for example, the emphasis lies mainly upon the economic phases of group life and the human relationships entailed in them; in another culture the emphasis may be upon the religious or the military. All these differences enter importantly and significantly into intergroup relations, and all have tended, in recent times, to be confused with racial differences.

Individual and Culture. In so far as their ways of behavior (including thought and feeling) are "human," individuals are products of their cultures, for they acquire such characteristics in association with and under the influence of other persons who are bearers of the culture. Yet no two individuals reflect their cultures in precisely the same way, and even in small, relatively homogeneous groups considerable variety is found among members in their habits of thought and action. This can be understood in the light of two basic facts about the mechanics by which individuals acquire culture.

First, the transmission of culture is, at best, a somewhat crude process, and every individual is to some extent an imperfect product of the socializing process. Second, no individual, even in a relatively "simple" culture, experiences the entirety of that culture. In every culture group definite provisions are made to ensure that classes of group members, as, say, the men, are excluded from areas of experience and training which are exclusively reserved for women; even among men, the chiefs and caciques have their own exclusive areas of learning. In larger and more intricate societies, specialization is carried much further, with the result that each individual acquires only a minor fragment of all the accumulated custom and tradition of his entire culture group.

Where there are caste or class systems, whether based upon true or fancied racial differences, or otherwise, distinct phases of the whole group culture are reserved exclusively for each class and caste. Usually, under such conditions, the upper strata of the social structure have much wider access to and choice of aspects of the total culture than do the subordinate classes or castes. This, in part at least, explains many of the differences in life ways of whites and Negroes sharing the same general culture, as in the United States. There are areas of experience and learning which are exclusive to each group, but the dominant white group has greater access and wider freedom of selection than the Negro. Such differences in access may be expressly provided in law or custom or, as is often the case, they may result indirectly from a variety of subtle encouragements and inhibitions embedded in folkways.

Because of the kinds of differentials just noted, each individual belongs, not only to a culture group, but also to subgroups within the larger group, and each subgroup has its own variant of the total culture, or subculture. All students of culture transmission under the conditions to which we are accustomed in our own culture group place emphasis upon the family unit as the key agency for such transmission, but each family unit presents its own particular variety of reflections of the main culture. To carry this thought further, even within the family unit there are marked variations in the phases of family life to which each member has access and is exposed.

Thus, while it is true and significant that individuals are products of their culture, they are not such in the sense of machine production which would produce exact replicas.

Problems of Human Relations. The complexities which arise out of the great variety of cultures, the intricacies of the cultural conditioning of individuals, and the existence within cultures of subcultures present baffling problems for the culture analyst. More pertinent to our subject, they also enter to complicate all kinds of human relationships, whether those of individual to individual or of group to group. In the tremendous range of possibilities for interhuman adjustments with which they present us, the factor of racial difference, as biologically defined, tends to fade into relative insignificance, and the ideological webs in which those differences have become enmeshed and confused present the most immediate and difficult problem. This problem confronts the sociologist in his study of race relations, and in it he finds that he cannot, with realism, abstract what are purely racial relations from cultural relations. Every aspect of the race problem, as it exists in the United States or elsewhere in the world, is primarily and foremost a cultural problem. Miscegenation, or race mixture, is of interest to biology but is not a crucial biological problem; nor as far as man's neuropsychic equipment is concerned, is it of great psychological importance. But in times and places and among various cultural groups, it is of the highest cultural significance and may present numerous problems of inter- and intracultural adjustment which are of the gravest concern to the entire culture group.

It is to the better understanding of how and why such matters are of cultural concern, and the various ways in which such concern is felt and expressed, that this book is directed. If we can better understand the cultural aspects of the problem, there should result a better understanding of the individual aspects of the problem, since individuals, as functioning human beings, are largely the products of their cultures, even though imperfect and varying products.

ETHNIC GROUPS

From what has been said it would seem clear that racial and cultural relations are inseparable phases of intergroup adjustments, and there is need for a term which will cover both aspects. The term which usually is employed for this purpose is *ethnic group,* which may refer to a distinct racial grouping, to one whose distinction is not racial but cultural, or it may apply where both racial and cultural differences coincide and tend to reinforce each other. The term will be so employed for the sake of economy of description in this book.

In studies of problems of ethnic groups in the United States, another term, *minority,* is often employed to distinguish each of the various distinctive racial and cultural groups in the population other than the predominant "white" Anglo-Saxon majority. Useful as this term may be in this restricted area, it tends to lose its utility as we get outside our own country. As will be noted in greater detail later, in many parts of the world the numerically larger ethnic groups may be subordinate culturally and politically to smaller groups; and in some areas, such as the islands of Hawaii, there is no ethnic group that constitutes a majority—all are minorities.

The term ethnic derives from the same root as ethnocentrism and thus is consistent with the general characteristic of ethnic groups, that of members considering themselves as "belonging to" *the* group by whose characteristics other groups are measured and judged.

Changing Ethnic Patterns. A map of the world showing ethnic groups in colors and shades of color would resemble a huge kaleidoscope, for not only are ethnic groups numerous, but their relative positions are constantly changing. At any time some are in process of merging with others, and some are beginning to take on distinctive form. During the nineteenth century in the United States, numerous ethnic groups and fragments of ethnic groups were being absorbed into the larger and dominant body to the extent that they lost their cultural identities. Also, during that period, Chinese and Japanese immigrants arrived, not to be completely absorbed but to retain their ethnic characteristics and thus add to the variety of group distinctions within the area.

The territorial expansions of groups, and the migrations of peoples from one place to another, have been factors in the changing ethnic patterns of the world in some periods more importantly than in others, but constantly in process. Through time, the development of easy, cheap, and rapid modes of transportation have accelerated such processes. They have made more frequent and insistent the contacts among various peoples and thus have intensified the problems of ethnic relations. Continuous development of modes of communication of ideas has played a less tangible, but probably equally significant, role in intergroup relations. It has made possible the rapid and widespread dissemination of such modern ideologies as those of democracy and of nationality, which have had a telling impact upon intergroup relations in many places. All of these tend to make more difficult any thorough understanding of our general problems, but they also have made such understanding increasingly inviting and urgent.

SUMMARY

This chapter has been intended to introduce the student to the study of race and culture relations, both by stating the problem and by indicating the conditions under which it must be attacked. It has been concerned primarily with three concepts, those of race, culture, and ethnic group, and the utility and limitations of each as an analytical tool. The term race is biological in its essential implications, as it is used by scientists. Yet race relations are not based upon what scientists think or know about races, but upon popular beliefs and feelings which may be in contrast to scientific notions. These popular beliefs and feelings often confuse that which is truly race, in the scientific sense, with various cultural attributes of peoples. Quite uniformly, culture groups tend to be ethnocentric in their ideas of and relations with other groups, whether the distinctions between the groups be racial, or cultural, or a combination of both. Thus, in the study of intergroup relations, racial and cultural aspects are inseparable. This makes advisable the term ethnic group to describe distinctive groups whether their distinction be of one or both, the racial or the cultural order.

The sociological approach is one which properly is concerned with changing patterns of human relations. Its task of analysis is greatly complicated by the changeableness of such relations. The characteristic relationships between two groups may vary through time with changes in circumstances and events. Ethnic groups merge and lose their distinctions, and new ethnic groups form. Peoples migrate from place to place, and improved modes of transportation and communication bring more frequent and insistent contacts among widely different and separated ethnic groups.

Despite the difficulties of studying ethnic relations when all these considerations are borne in mind, the urgency for such understanding increases.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are the principal races and subraces of man?
2. Which criteria are commonly used in distinguishing races and subraces?
3. Why are such criteria difficult to apply in practice?
4. What cultural characteristics are often confused with race? Give examples.
5. What is a culture group?
6. What is an ethnic group?
7. What is meant by the dynamics of intergroup relationships?
8. Do erroneous popular beliefs matter to the student of human relations? Explain.
9. Why are intergroup feelings subject to manipulation by leaders?
10. What is ethnocentrism?
11. In what sense is a person a product of his culture?
12. What recent developments have increased the urgency of understanding ethnic relationships?

SUGGESTED READINGS

BENEDICT, RUTH, *Race: Science and Politics,* Modern Age Books, New York, 1940.

BOAS, FRANZ, *Race, Language, and Culture,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1940.

FARIS, ELLSWORTH, *The Nature of Human Nature,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1937, Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, XXXII.

GARTH, THOMAS R., *Race Psychology,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1931.

HANKINS, FRANK H., *The Racial Basis of Civilization,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1931.

KLINEBERG, OTTO, *Race Differences,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1935.

KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE, *Mirror for Man,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949, Chap. V.

Krout, Maurice H., "Race and Culture," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 37, September, 1931.

Murphy, G., L. B. Murphy, and T. N. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1937, rev. ed., pp. 53–71, 205–206, 789–790.

Reuter, Edward B., *Race Mixture,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1931.

Wissler, Clark, *Man and Culture,* The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1923.

CHAPTER 2

RACE PREJUDICE AND ETHNOCENTRISM

THE TERM ETHNOCENTRISM was used and explained in the first chapter in reference to the universal tendency of persons, as products of cultures, to look upon the ways of their own groups as natural, normal, and right, while contrasting group ways are considered as unnatural, abnormal, and wrong. A particular aspect of ethnocentrism is race prejudice, involving some of the widespread confusion of racial with cultural attributes, and ideologically expressed as racism: the belief in the superiority of one's own race and in the inferiority of other races. Both ethnocentrism and its particular expression as race prejudice, where the latter is found, are basic in intergroup relations and therefore deserve careful consideration. The study of both phenomena lies largely in the field of social psychology, and it is mainly upon studies and writings in that field that this chapter draws.

RACE PREJUDICE

Under older social psychological theories, race prejudice was often considered as instinctive and therefore, by implication, universal and uniform. Increasingly, studies of various peoples at different times and places have disclosed that race prejudice is neither universal nor uniform. Apparently some peoples are without it, while its intensity and forms of expression vary from place to place and from time to time. The peoples of France and England apparently lack the feelings toward Negroes characteristic of the American majority racial element, or possess them with far less intensity. People of European descent in Brazil have a reputation for tolerance toward Negroes and mulattoes in contrast to prevailing attitudes in this country. Even among the people of the United States, there are contrasts between the intensity of racial prejudice of the southern states and that of the North, and between prejudices of the people of the Pacific Coast region and those of other parts of the country.

It was noted in the previous chapter that the same people may demonstrate different types and intensities of prejudice in different historical periods. The prevailing attitudes toward the Amerindians at various times in American history are a case in point. Similar shifts in attitude could be drawn from various places in the world as well as from the American scene. It would be difficult to demonstrate, however, that there is historical consistency in the nature of such changes beyond the observation that they often seem to follow a cyclical pattern as far as they have predictability.

Circumstances and Prejudice. The obvious explanation both for regional and historical differentials in prejudice lies in differences in circumstances within which racial groups live in contact with each other. People of the southern states of the United States are quick to point out that northern people can afford to be more tolerant of Negroes, since their contacts with Negroes are usually infrequent and under conditions in which there is little danger to established values and "white supremacy." The same general position might be taken where attitudes of the people of France and England are concerned, and even for Brazil. In fact, circumstances surrounding racial contacts and relationships differ for every area, and the relations differ as well.

The same kind of observation and reasoning would apply to the explanation of changes in attitudes of a given people from one historical period to another. The period in American history when the statement, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian," expressed prevailing prejudice, was one in which circumstances differed obviously from those of the present day; and types and intensities of prejudice differed correspondingly. Yet, unless one is careful, such facile explanations can lead to oversimplified and erroneous notions. Some prejudices persist long after the circumstances to which they seem logically related and functionally fitted have disappeared. This has been true, seemingly, of some forms of anti-Semitism both in this country and abroad.

Shifts in circumstances are not only of regional and historical importance, they carry also a situational significance even in a given area, and from day to day or hour to hour. To meet persons of another race within the intimacy of the home as servants or masters exemplifies one set of circumstances, but to meet the same persons in a public place such as a theater or a public conveyance is another, and feelings and actions engendered in each might well contrast with those of the other.

Thus it seems clear that race prejudice is not a fixed and unalterable attitude, but is a variable and need not be present significantly when differing racial groups or their members are in contact. It has none of the characteristics which one would associate with instinct, but rather appears to have those which are more logically associated with learned behavior and, to some extent, with considerations of expediency.

As a Group Characteristic. It is not necessarily inconsistent with what has been said to note that in recent history race prejudice has been more characteristic of the attitudes common to some groups than of those of others. Such a generalization transcends, to some extent, local and immediate circumstances, just as the expediency of the group may be longer in range and less obvious than that of its individual members. Probably, and many observers seem agreed in this regard, the peoples of Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage among those of Caucasoid racial descent have exhibited more consistent race prejudice in recent history than have other peoples.

> Wherever the white of English stock has been brought into contact with masses of Negroes, and however the geographic, economic, and political conditions differed, we find two great outstanding facts always present, namely, the stubborn refusal of the white to sanction race fusion and the strenuous insistence upon the supremacy of his group ideals. Extraneous public sentiment and the demands of theoretical democracy have never been able to swerve the local white group from settling all interracial questions upon this basis. The attitudes of the whites in the southern states find parallel in the bearing of the English towards backward races of the colonies, and particularly in relations of whites and blacks in South Africa.[1]

The Anglo-Saxon tradition of racial superiority has developed largely with the colonial policies which stemmed from the establishment and expansion of the British Empire. As a somewhat distinctive tradition it has been evident in the contrasts between the British as colonial administrators, and other nationals in the same roles; at the same time it differs from the apparent tolerance toward members of other races which is characteristic of the English at home. Other Europeans have been much more flexible in their attitudes toward native peoples, and many non-Caucasoid peoples appear to have no race prejudice as such, even though they show fanatical intolerance in other regards.

ETHNOCENTRISM AND PREJUDICE

What has been said gives support to the consideration of race prejudice as one of many aspects which may be found in the more nearly universal characteristic of ethnocentrism. Basically, ethnocentrism is loyalty to one's group, reinforced by a corollary disdain or hostility toward other groups.

---

[1] John M. Mecklin, *Democracy and Race Friction*, copyright 1914 by The Macmillan Company, New York, p. 158. Used with permission of the publisher.

It may take the form of religious fanaticism, or of strong attachment to particular political or economical ideologies, instead of racism. The important thing in ethnocentrism is the intensification of one's feelings of attachment to his group.

Obviously, the social function of ethnocentrism, whether expressed as race prejudice or otherwise, is the creation and enhancement of group solidarity to the point where people will submerge their individual aims and interests beneath considerations of the real or fancied welfare of the group. Without such bonds of loyalty, groups cannot long survive as functioning entities and, therefore, the universality of ethnocentrism as a group trait.

In-group and Out-group. The phenomena associated with ethnocentrism have long been recognized in sociological theory and have given wide currency within the science to the concepts of in-group or we-group, and out-group or they-group. From the viewpoint of the individual, the in-group is that to which he feels he belongs, tied by loyalty to the group itself or some symbols of it. The feeling of belonging is never so intense as when there is believed to be an imminent threat to the group from other groups, which are the out-groups. Morale within the in-group is supported by a feeling of superiority of some kind over opposing groups and their members. One can see in-group and out-group situations in the rooting sections at football games, in the excitement of election campaigns, or in the heat of international controversies. War is the most extreme expression of the feelings engendered, when intense loyalty to one's nation becomes a minimum requirement for every individual.

> The national state is for modern man the largest in-group which calls for his reverence, deference, and sense of belonging. It has replaced the church as the center of affection, social solidarity, and security, as the core of basic in-group attitudes and values. Identification with the state is provided by myths, legends, and songs of national heroes and previous great events. The stories of battles and conquests, of scholarship, of artistic and mechanical inventions, and of colonial discoveries and expansion are of utmost importance. The flag, the map, and the concept of the frontier, the national anthem, the military insignia, and many other symbols also stimulate patriotism and willingness to fight and to sacrifice for the national state.
>
> These symbols represent the positive attitudes and values organized and perpetuated in modern national states, and without them nationalism would collapse. Their counterparts are the negative views of enemy countries, the largest and most threatening out-groups with which we must contend. It is perfectly obvious that patriotic enthusiasm and belief in a political system or cause depend not alone on the attitudes of affection and approach, but also on their opposite attitudes of hatred, distrust, and avoidance. In fact, a tentative

> generalization may be made that intensive in-group solidarity is equally dependent on positive and negative attitudes. Group solidarity seems to be born as much of fear of aggression as of love and mutual aid. . . .[2]

The same idea is forcefully expressed by another authority, with more immediate pertinence to race prejudice: [3]

> Race prejudice [unfavorable] always arises along with prejudice for another group. . . . This fact should be sufficient answer to those who would at the same time discourage race or national prejudice and develop without caution sentiments of patriotism and race pride. One cannot at the same time rate his own nation as the best in the world without rating others as inferior. In other words, the problem lies at the roots of group loyalty, and it is scarcely possible to separate positive national loyalty from negative hate. Loyalty if it means anything must be exclusive. The intensity of the emotion, of course, varies, and the group which is its object may be expanded, but at any given time the intensity of one's love of country tends to determine the intensity of one's prejudice against other countries and nationalities.

Consensus and Prejudice. There is another way in which prejudice, racial or otherwise, enters into group cohesion, a necessary condition of group life. A group of people to function through any considerable period of time must be in agreement in their thinking—not about everything—but about some things. If there is no general agreement on anything, there can be only discord, strife, and working at cross purposes. On what can people agree when there are large numbers of them, some young and some mature, some educated and some ignorant, some wealthy and some poor? Where can one find grounds for sufficient consensus to permit the group to continue to function effectively? Often, if not always, general agreement can come only from shared prejudices arising from common beliefs accepted uncritically by members of the group.

As the French sociologist Durkheim stated it, human society, whatever its other characteristics, is essentially a moral order; and as practical politicians know, people of all creeds and stations in life can be brought into agreement on the basic proposition that they are in favor of good and against evil. Conversely, as scientists well know, their presumed exact knowledge and objective interpretations are as apt to be bases for disagreement and controversy as they are to bring consensus, as witness the opposing "schools" of thought in every science.

---

[2] Kimball Young, *Social Psychology,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1947, 2d ed., pp. 379–380.

[3] Donald R. Taft, *Human Migration,* The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1936, p. 330.

This aspect of prejudice, suggesting its social function beyond that of enhancing the feeling of group loyalty, is pointed out in order that the nature of ethnocentrism, as it bears upon intergroup relationships, may be more clearly perceived. It helps explain the otherwise baffling persistence of some group and individual attitudes in the face of seemingly obvious contrary facts.

Prejudice and Prejudgment. Prejudice may be defined, and with etymological support, as prejudgment of a person, group, or issue. This definition implies ignorance or disregard of pertinent facts. While prejudice may be either favorable or unfavorable, the most usual usage refers to its negative aspects, or judgments against. Thus race prejudice is generally a reference to unfavorable prejudgments of either persons or groups believed to belong to other races.

If one recognizes, however, that it may be either favorable and therefore positive, or unfavorable and negative, the functions of prejudice can be more clearly seen. We all live complex lives which involve many decisions daily and hourly. Even though we base our decisions as nearly as possible upon knowledge and careful logical analysis, there is often neither the knowledge readily available nor the opportunity for careful weighing of alternatives. Then a prejudice may be a necessary basis for decision and choice. A trained dietician may be able to select foods judiciously, but few of us are trained dieticians, and for most of us certain prejudices about foods are an essential requirement if we are to plan or order a meal. A trained expert may know which reptiles and insects are poisonous, but for most persons an equipment of prejudices is needed if we are to avoid painful, or even fatal, bites and stings.

In human relations there are few experts who would claim the knowledge necessary for instantaneously evaluating personalities, yet all of us, expert or not, must meet many people and, on the moment, form judgments about them. Here prejudices come into play more often than one realizes unless he stops to consider the complexities of human contacts. Prejudice is an indispensable aid to interpersonal and intergroup adjustments. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive of human relations except in an atmosphere pervaded by favorable and unfavorable prejudices, or facile prejudgments of others.

THE STUDY OF PREJUDICE

Numerous concepts have grown out of the systematic attention given by social psychologists and others in recent decades to race prejudice and other forms of ethnocentrism.[4] Since many of them will be used and referred to in subsequent chapters, they will be explained here, within the framework of what has thus far been said about the nature and functions of such feelings.

Social Visibility. The term "social visibility" has come into usage to describe obvious stigmata, which possess a negative value for members of prejudiced groups and by which they can readily distinguish persons who are "different" in significant ways, and therefore outside the in-group. Such stigmata may be transitory and superficial, as mode of dress or mannerisms; or they may be some hereditary and relatively constant physiological quality. The most significant, as far as racial prejudice is concerned, is skin color or shading. The importance of social visibility is that it tends to intensify group cleavages and, as in the case of skin color, to perpetuate intolerance. Persons and groups marked by social visibility find greater obstacles to assimilation with the dominant in-group than do nonmembers who lack such stigmata.

The "Color Line." Where race relations are characterized by the "color line" the most effective result of social visibility may be seen. Where the color line is invoked, it is by the dominant group against those whose skin pigmentation is obviously different from their own; especially has this been true of whites as dominant groups in their relations to "blacks" in many parts of the world.

The basic rule of the color line is one which forbids intermarriage, especially between the white women and males of other races. By simple extension, the rule forbids intimate relationships of any kind between members of the races, as well as the "passing" of individuals from membership in the despised race to presumed membership in the dominant group.

In this connection it is interesting to note that in the United States the slightest trace of Negro blood is generally considered as a sufficient basis for classifying persons as Negroes, even though the proportion of white heritage may be dominant. This is a type of thinking which grows out of emphasis upon the color line.

Where the color line is concerned, there is usually an obvious difference between verbal and nonverbal behavior, especially of the males of the dominant racial group. Those who most loudly support the color line may quietly condone sex relations of males of the dominant group with females of the subordinate group. In such cases the dominant group may make semi-institutional provision for the illegitimate offspring of such unions, and even for the women who are involved. Where such implicit recognition of interracial sex relations exists, it does not permit reciprocal relations of males of the subordinate race with white women, and it does not permit open intermarriage.

---

[4] The social psychological literature on the subject of prejudices and ethnocentrism is usually listed in textbooks and other sources under the topic of "Attitudes."

> The ban on sex relations between Negro men and white women has the highest place in the white man's rank order of social segregation and discrimination. This gives a central position to the concern for "race purity," since the offspring of such unions are children of Negro "blood" obviously born to white women, and there is danger that they may be accepted as members of the white "race." There is no danger in sex relations between white men and Negro women, since the children stay with the mother and paternity cannot be proved. That is, it cannot be proved if there is no formal marriage. Thus intermarriage—which in the South is considered to be the same as extramarital relations between a Negro man and a white woman—is the strongest of all taboos. Violation of this taboo nearly always leads to violence, and even the mere rumor of it may provoke a lynching. . . .[5]

"Scapegoatism." Students of race relations have coined the term "scapegoatism" to describe one apparent source of antagonistic race relations. It refers to the seeming need of persons and groups to rationalize their perplexities, difficulties, and frustrations by blaming some one or group and thus establishing a scapegoat. In so doing, the blame fixers escape any implications that they themselves may be held responsible, and in case of crisis they set up objectives for aggressive action and thereby make possible the release of emotional tensions. Such mental processes are, of course, nonrational, and at times are irrational, but as they serve a felt need which is commonplace in human experience, they are widely indulged. Especially is this true when problems arise from the operation of forces which people understand but vaguely or not at all, and which therefore defy analysis.

Scapegoatism is found in other realms of human relations as well as in race relations. It is commonplace in family experiences, in the business world, and even in religious activities. In the case of race the obvious physiological indicators of race lend themselves readily to such blame fixing; especially is this true when the ideological climate is such as to cast suspicion on certain racial groups and their members. Thus, during the Second World War, it required no mental strain to blame members of the Japanese "race" for any and everything for which there was no other ready explanation. In studies which have been made of race riots, the process by which group tensions arise when frustrations, economic or otherwise, are widespread has been clearly revealed.

---

[5] Arnold Rose and Caroline Rose, *America Divided,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1948, pp. 155–156.

> On the morning of March 20, 1935, the people of New York awoke to learn that in the heart of the city . . . a riot had occurred the night before involving upwards of ten thousand Negroes. . . . An absurdly trivial incident furnished the spark which awakened the Negro's deep-seated sense of wrong and denial and even memories of injustices in the South, and set ablaze smoldering resentments against racial discrimination and poverty. A Puerto Rican lad caught stealing a ten cent pen knife from the counter of a five and ten cent store on west 125 Street—Harlem's main shopping thoroughfare—desperately sank his teeth into the hand of one of his captors. In the excitement Negroes attacked the store's white employees, trampling a few in the melee. . . . What was thought at first to be the natural ebullience of a volatile population was, in fact, a manifestation of profound unrest.[6]

In situations where race tensions are acute, one phase of scapegoatism is the spread of rumors, passed from person to person as "facts," which presumably support the current antagonistic ideology and help to fix specific blame. Such rumors may arise from varying interpretations of minor events or may have no ascertainable source. Many such rumors have long histories, recur in different places at different times, and involve different racial groups and stereotypes, although the essentials of the rumor remain the same.

Social Distance. Where the color line is maintained, it acts as a rigid bar to complete assimilation. At the same time the ready acceptance of non-members of in-groups into marriage is usually considered the ultimate test of tolerance. Starting from this assumption (which is probably true in our own country, at least), social psychologists have developed techniques of measurement of degrees and intensity of intergroup prejudices. Such a device is the "social distance" scale, which uses statements which presumably indicate degrees of intimacy of relationships members of one group will accept with members of other specified groups. The scale uses the expressed willingness to accept a member of the out-group as a guest in one's home, as a member of one's lodge, as a business associate, etc., as indicating measurable degrees of tolerance and intolerance.

Regardless of the validity of such a measuring scale, the term social distance has come into wide usage in discussions of degrees of social acceptance in intergroup relationships. Its chief utility lies in its emphasis upon prejudice and ethnocentrism as variables in complex social situations, in which many levels and kinds of prejudice may be operative simultaneously. Thus the same person who has strong prejudices against members of one group may have prejudices of less intensity against members of another group. Usually the degree of social visibility is critical in determining such differentials, although this is not invariably the case. Traditional and situational factors may enter to invoke the most intense prejudices against groups of little or no social visibility, as, for example, against "reds" and "radicals," regardless of their appearances.

---

[6] Roi Ottley, *New World A-Coming,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1943, pp. 151–152.

The Stereotype. Most studies of prejudice place emphasis upon what are called stereotypes. A stereotype is usually defined as a picture in the mind of the prejudiced person which is the point of reference from which particular prejudices, favorable or unfavorable, arise. Every culture has stereotypes which are impressed upon the minds of group members in the socialization process. Most group members come to recognize these stereotypes and to associate them with the conventional prejudices which they symbolize. In the individual's mind, on the other hand, a stereotype may arise from a single or a few personal experiences. The conventional stereotypes of "the American boy," a clean, well-built, fine-looking, obviously honest, and respectful creature; of "the mother," a sweet-faced, gray-haired woman, slightly old-fashioned, sitting in a rocking chair; of "the criminal" or "the play-boy" are all examples which are so widely accepted and uniform that all of us recognize them at a glance on the screen or in descriptions in books. Indeed, their acceptance is so wide and uniform that they are a source of exploitation by advertisers, politicians, and others who live by appeals to wide audiences.

Each stereotype, whether group or personal, represents all things or persons of a given class and is the basis for reaching decisions affecting conduct toward others in that class. We seldom react toward persons, except, perhaps, in the case of a few intimates; rather we react toward the stereotype which represents, in our accustomed thinking, the class to which a person belongs.

This might seem strange and somewhat foolish, but we must recognize that it makes for simplicity and efficiency when it is necessary to make rapid and frequent adjustments to many people in a wide variety of situations where there is little opportunity for careful, judicious study and the weighing of a multiplicity of observations. Even in thinking about ourselves, we often have resort to stereotypes as a means of simplifying the analysis. To recognize one's self as "the father" of the family, "the college professor," "the intelligent citizen," not only serves to short-cut self-analysis, but to increase our sense of solidarity with groups who may be similarly identified with stereotypes. In fact, the stereotype often appears more real than do factual observations which are not compatible with it.

Mental sets, or stereotypes, tend to limit what may enter our minds in the way of sense impressions, for we filter them, accepting only the patterns of our social group, thus narrowing our mental perspective. Having been told about the world before we have experience with it, we develop preconceptions which make us unaware of all except the selected portions of the panorama of life which pass before our vision. Those things which we have been taught to see by our social group are interpreted by us in terms of our existing mental sets. Lippmann takes the position that these stereotypes are a decided asset in that they tend to simplify our world by helping us to find unified meaning in our own personality and giving us a philosophy of life that will provide some degree of certainty and uniformity. By helping us exclude the new and distasteful they enable us to absorb quickly that which already coincides with our mental patterns.[7]

DIFFICULTIES OF STUDY

While much time and effort have gone into the study of ethnocentrism and race prejudice, such studies have encountered but have not resolved numerous perplexities which are involved wherever analysis of human behavior is concerned. They are related principally to the fact that a vital part of the understanding of human behavior is the inference of mental processes which accompany it. The impact of Freudian psychological theory upon social sciences has been, chiefly, in emphasizing the difficulties of making such inferences, even when one is trying to understand his own actions. Yet, unless the psychic processes which accompany action are known, little has been accomplished toward understanding the actions.

The obvious approaches to the interpretation of the thinking behind action are those of asking a person why he does what he does; or of, in imagination, putting one's self in the position of the other and reasoning what he would do or think in given circumstances. But if people are poorly equipped to interpret their own thought processes or are anxious always to put their own behavior in the best possible light, little can be gained by asking them what they think and feel. On the other hand the device of identifying one's self with the behaving person has its flaws. Especially is such a method precarious when the investigator and the subject are of contrasting social and cultural backgrounds. Under such circumstances the implication of motives is apt to be highly misleading.

Verbal and Nonverbal Behavior. Much of the study of race prejudice consists of the measurement of verbal behavior, as is the case of the previously mentioned social distance scales. A person is asked how he would feel or act toward some imaginary person or group under imagined circumstances. Presumably the subject's answers indicate the presence or absence of prejudice and its degree of intensity. Even if the subject is trying to be entirely honest, there is no certainty that he would actually feel or act in a real situation as he says he would. In fact, everyday experience and observation would lead one to expect a relatively low degree of correspondence between verbal statements and the action and feeling which are anticipated.

---

[7] Paul H. Landis, *Social Control,* J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1939, p. 68.

In a cultural climate unfavorable to the expression of avowed prejudices, most persons will deny that they have prejudices, seemingly in all sincerity. Yet, what has been said about the nature of prejudices would indicate what a vacuous mental condition—entirely improbable—is implied. Under other conditions persons may admit to and boast of prejudices which they neither feel nor reveal in their actions.

Inconsistencies and Ambivalence. As it is generally recognized that prejudices are not products of clear rational processes, we do not expect complete consistency in them. In fact, much inconsistency is found at both the group and the individual level. In contacts with other racial and cultural groups those who are most prejudiced against them in some regards may think very highly of them in others. Usually this discrepancy is rationalized in the phrase "in their place," and as long as individuals are considered as in their place, they may be flatteringly and affectionately regarded by persons who show the greatest antagonism toward them when they are considered not to be "in their place."

Attitudes may be and often are ambivalent in all human relationships. Students of child psychology and marital relations realize this complication where the most intimate ties are concerned, and careful observation will reveal that it holds in all interpersonal and intergroup involvements.

Rationalization. In psychology and social psychology, the term "rationalization" is used to describe the mental or verbal process by which one seeks to present his behavior in a favorable light. The rationalization may or may not correspond to one's real motives and is most apt to be invoked when one has doubts as to the social respectability of those motives. Each of us, in his own experience, is well acquainted with the phenomenon because it is occasionally very obvious. But our casual observations probably do not reveal the extent to which rationalizing is used in personal and group affairs. The very contradictions found in prejudices, which have been discussed, reveal the need for "explaining," and the explanations take the form of more or less elaborate rationalizations.

The term "prejudice" carries something of a social stigma in our culture, and yet is universal and a necessary part of each person's life equipment. This in itself calls for rationalizations. Since to admit that one is prejudging in the absence of adequate knowledge is to admit of prejudice, the most common form of rationalization is to pretend to more knowledge than one actually has. In the study of prejudice it is difficult, and often seemingly impossible, to separate the prejudice from the individual or cultural rationalization of the prejudice, so that often what purports to be a description of the prejudice is a description of the rationalization. The fact that many antagonistic attitudes among groups are rationalized in our culture in economic terms tends to lead to their interpretation as economic prejudices or attitudes, even though the economic excuse may be simply an afterthought.

> While rationalizing often involves the higher mental faculties it should not be confused with ratiocination or rational thinking. The rationalizer is using his reasoning processes for a particular purpose. He is trying to justify his own foolish, immoral, futile, or unsuccessful behavior to himself. Often the real reason for failure may be one too discreditable for the ego to bear; the real motive back of some action may be too unconventional to admit either to oneself or others. Rationalization helps in such situations by finding a substitute reason which, if not the true one, at least makes us feel better. We make excuses, or as the popular term has it, we "alibi" for our failure to play better in some important contest rather than admit we would have been beaten anyway. . . . We try to fool ourselves, and because the self is a looking-glass self we try also to fool others. Everybody rationalizes at some time or other because everybody has a face to save.[8]

CONDITIONS FAVORING PREJUDICE

Some inferences regarding the complex mental processes underlying racial and cultural prejudice may be drawn from observation of the conditions under which they flourish. While such prejudices may be found in widely varying circumstances, some kinds of conditions appear to enhance the development, spread, and intensification of hostile feelings of group toward group. One such type of circumstances has been suggested previously in this chapter in the discussion of scapegoatism. It is also true that local, regional, and national traditions have much to do with the persistence or lack of strong prejudices in various places and among different peoples. Some other specific kinds of circumstances appear to have their significant influence in this regard.

Imperialism. In both ancient and modern times expansion of nations territorially has brought contacts between peoples of contrasting cultural and racial characteristics. Alexander's Macedonian armies penetrated most parts of Asia Minor and as far eastward as India. The Roman legions roamed the same area, as well as into the "barbarian" areas of central and western Europe and the British Islands. The Spanish, Portuguese, French, and British, from the beginning of modern history, and later, Germany, the United States, and Russia are but a few of the better known examples of imperial nations which have had a variety of peoples of diverse races and alien cultures under their control.

---

[8] Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology*, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1948, rev. ed., p. 251.

As has been noted, imperial policies have varied, and there have been different degrees of tolerance and flexibility in overt relations between the dominant and the subordinate groups. Inevitably the dominant group feels some superiority in particular or all significant regards. The expressions and rationalizations of feelings of superiority are usually in benevolent terms, stressing the role of the dominant group in bringing material benefits and enlightenment to "backward" peoples.

Closely related to the conditions of imperialism are those of religious proselyting which could take place only under the ethnocentric notion that those of one faith are possessors of the "light" while members of groups with other beliefs are "benighted" and "living in darkness." In such cases, again, the rationalizations are in terms of benevolence under which the superior are obliged or privileged to aid the less fortunate.

Power Relations. Implicit in imperialism are power relationships upon which the stability of empire depends. Similar to such relations as they exist between a nation and its colonial peoples are power relations within countries and communities. Where populations are ethnically heterogeneous, racial and cultural lines often become those along which power relationships are defined. In such cases strong prejudices are apt to be held by the group which is seeking to perpetuate its dominant position, or on the part of submerged groups seeking to alter the *status quo* in ways more favorable to their own positions. Prejudices in relations between the English and the Irish in the British Islands have been of this type largely, while those among numerous ethnic groups in the history of the United States supply further examples. The caste system of India is in part, probably, a result of prejudices nourished by competition for power, locally and regionally.

Within systems of power relationships lie opportunities for exploitation, as is evident in the colonial practices of various imperial regimes and within particular countries. Such exploitation arises from and stimulates the prejudices appropriate to it and tending to justify it. In the United States, Negroes were long exploited under the institution of slavery, and elaborate rationalizations were developed, based upon strong prejudices. The same has been true, to some extent, of each newly arrived wave of immigrants.

Competition for Land. One recurring stimulus to ethnic prejudice has been competition for ownership and control of land. This has been true in both predominantly rural and agricultural regions, and in urban centers where such prejudices are often written into restrictions of residential areas. Attitudes toward Amerindians in American history, toward the freed Negroes after the War between the States, toward European and Oriental immigrants at various times, all have been relative to the abundance or scarcity of good land. The same has been generally true in other countries. In many places, in fact, the shift in power relationships among ethnic groups has taken the form of an agrarian revolution. Of this the recent history of Mexico is an outstanding example.

Other Competition. With the rise of industrialism, the critical areas of economic competition have shifted in many places from land to wage employment. When and where competition for jobs becomes keen, conditions which enhance ethnic prejudices exist. Usually under such circumstances particular kinds and conditions of employment are reserved for some ethnic group or groups, such reservations being based upon prejudices and rationalized in terms of fitness to perform the work.

In times of either rapid expansion or contraction of the labor market, violence is apt to occur between racial and cultural groups where the constitution of the laboring force is heterogeneous. At times employers have used latent ethnic prejudices to upset what they considered unsatisfactory conditions in the labor market, for their own benefit.

Other kinds of competition, as that among business firms and among politicians for favors and patronage, often promote prejudices based upon real or fancied racial differences.

Ignorance and Poverty. At times and places widespread ignorance and poverty seem to aggravate racial and cultural prejudice, but it appears that the very poor and ignorant at other times and places display very little of either. The relationship of such conditions to feelings of intolerance is not clear, and probably they are effective as part of a complex of circumstances in which other factors such as competition and tradition are principally causative. It is also probably true that those living in ignorance and poverty are more easily swayed in their attitudes by leaders and demagogues.

It has been the observation of numerous authorities that the most violent outbursts of racial prejudice in the southern states have occurred among "poor whites" living in real or imagined competition with Negroes. It was also the impoverished frontiersmen who were in most frequent and continuous conflict with the Amerindians. The Indians themselves, though poor and illiterate, in their first contacts with Europeans seem to have been curious but completely tolerant. The same seems to have been true of primitive peoples in other parts of the world.

On the other hand there is ample evidence that in various places wealthy and educated people have pronounced ethnic prejudices, often enhanced, as previously indicated, by their anxiety to maintain privileged positions. While as a generality the better educated are moderate in their expression of prejudice and skilled in convincing rationalization, it is not necessarily true that education and prejudice are mutually incompatible. In this connection it is to be remembered that the German people were among the best educated in the world at the time of the perpetration of excessive cruelties against Jews in the 1930's.

Résumé of Conditions. The discussion of conditions apparently conducive to enhanced racial and cultural prejudice has not been exhaustive, nor has it necessarily included all the more important ones. It does indicate, however, in very general terms, the variety of types of circumstances which enter into race and cultural relations. The types of conditions, although described separately, most usually occur in combinations in which several are present in a given situation, and it is impossible to ascribe exact relative weights to them. The variety of types of circumstances conducive to racial and cultural prejudices indicates the fallacy of sweeping particularistic theories which would ascribe such feelings to any single conditioning factor such as ignorance or economic competition. Only when the many factors present in any given situation have been carefully considered may a tentative proposition be advanced regarding causation.

Neither closeness and continuity of contacts among peoples nor relative remoteness can assure lack of prejudice; rather, preexisting prejudices appear to determine what the effects of relative contiguity may be. However, close and continuous contact appears to lend urgency to working adjustments and opportunity for overt expression of prejudices, and thus brings such attitudes into sharper focus. It is quite possible for a people to despise and hate another people on the other side of the earth, with whom they have no direct contact, just as it is to have such attitudes toward elements in their own community with whom they are in daily close association.

SUMMARY

Race prejudice is an aspect of ethnocentrism, an apparently universal trait of group life; but it is not the invariable nor the only form taken by ethnocentrism. Prejudice serves seemingly necessary social functions of bringing into being and enhancing group solidarity, providing bases for consensus, and facilitating interpersonal and intergroup adjustments. Prejudices are both favorable and unfavorable, each type being linked with the other; as the term is used most commonly, it applies to unfavorable attitudes, and this especially when the term race prejudice is employed.

Many concepts have developed in the scientific study of race prejudice—social visibility, social distance, stereotype, scapegoatism, and others—the understanding of which helps to clarify the phenomenon. Such study encounters difficulties which arise from the inconsistency found in ethnic attitudes, their ambivalence, and rationalizations which enter into verbalized prejudices. These constitute a part of the larger problem of understanding the psychic content of human behavior.

Many kinds of conditions appear to bring about and intensify ethnic prejudice. These include the policies and practices characteristic of imperialism, the efforts to dominate in power relationships, competition for land, jobs, and business or political advantage, and, in some cases, widespread ignorance and poverty. These types of circumstances occur in combination rather than singly, making it impossible to single out any one as *the* cause of race prejudice.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Define (*a*) ethnocentrism, (*b*) racism.
2. Is race prejudice instinctive? Explain.
3. Do you agree that prejudices are a necessary part of human life equipment? Support your answer.
4. How can you account for ambivalence of ethnic attitudes?
5. Why may stereotypes seem more real than contradictory factual observations?
6. Why do people often pretend to greater knowledge than they have to defend their ethnic attitudes?
7. What is meant by social distance? How is it measured?
8. What is the weakness of particularistic theories to account for race prejudice?
9. What complexities are encountered in the analysis of the relation of ignorance to race prejudice?
10. Does bringing people together, or keeping them apart, eliminate ethnic prejudices? Explain.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bogardus, E. S., *Immigration and Race Attitudes,* D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1928.

Clinchy, E. R., *All in the Name of God,* The John Day Company, New York, 1934.

Finot, Jean, *Race Prejudice,* E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, 1906.

KEITH, ARTHUR, *The Place of Prejudice in Modern Civilization,* The John Day Company, New York, 1931.

LAPIERE, RICHARD T., "Attitudes versus Actions," *Social Forces,* Vol. 13, 1934, pp. 230–237.

LASKER, BRUNO, *Race Attitudes in Children,* Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1929.

MALINOWSKI, B., *The Dynamics of Culture Change; an Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1945.

ODUM, HOWARD W., *Race and Rumors of Race,* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1943.

REUTER, E. B., *Race and Culture Contacts,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1934.

WILLARD, L. (ed.), *Religion and Racial Tensions,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1945.

CHAPTER 3

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

WHENEVER AND WHEREVER unlike peoples come into effective contact, they seek means of communicating with each other and thus set off processes which, unless strong counterforces intervene, ultimately resolve the differences among them. The processes called acculturation and assimilation have been carefully studied and mapped by anthropologists and sociologists in numerous situations. They usually bring dislocations, maladjustments, and, often, violent conflict for the peoples involved; if left to run their courses, they will result eventually in the welding of the several groups into a single one, racially and culturally homogeneous for the most part, even though divided into subcultural elements.

Ethnocentrism and race prejudice act both to keep peoples apart and to weld them together. Intolerance of other peoples and their ways often establishes almost insurmountable barriers to closer union and understandings among alien groups, especially where the color line is enforced, as the previous chapter has shown. Intolerance may also operate as a powerful incentive to bring about efforts on the part of subordinate groups to abandon their cultures and to conform in ways acceptable to the dominant group. An example of the dual effect of the prejudices of whites may be found in the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest among whom older conservatives, influenced by their own ethnocentrism, cling stubbornly to ancient practices and beliefs, while many younger "progressives" would forget their own culture and adopt the "American" way of life of the dominant culture, after centuries of life under pressures from neighbors of European descent.

> The old people who really know are dying off. The young people are becoming more and more sophisticated, many losing completely the significance of their customs, symbols, rituals, that exist still in vestigial form. Some so-called "progressives" want the old ways abandoned, actually scorning them, denouncing them as detrimental to the advancement of their people. Several towns are split into hostile factions that hate one another as white factions sometimes do. . . .[1]

---

[1] Adolph F. Bandelier and Edgar L. Hewett, *Indians of the Rio Grande Valley*, The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1937, p. 28.

The understanding of acculturation and assimilation is basic to the study of relationships among racial and cultural groups since such relationships represent, in every case, some phase of adjustment, although that adjustment is often blocked or distorted by peculiar circumstances in particular situations. With this in mind, it is clear that intergroup relations are always changing.

ACCULTURATION

One aspect of the processes arising from intercultural contact is called acculturation, a term which refers to the interchange of cultural traits and complexes between or among alien groups. In order to communicate, peoples who are unlike linguistically must adopt some elements of each other's languages as regards both speech and gesture. If trade is to develop among them, they must develop mutual understanding regarding bartering practices, monetary values, and notions of property rights. The interchange of practices spreads to all phases of life activities and, in the long run, is reflected in changes in subjective mental processes and closer mutual understanding.

Acculturation is usually a prolonged process unless accelerated by coercion, as when one people conquers another, since each culture group is inclined to cling stubbornly to its own ways and to resist ways which compete with them. Acculturation is invariably a two-way matter in which each group acquires some of the characteristics of the other, but usually the ways of one group dominate in the exchange. As Europeans have come into contact with various native tribes, it has been principally European traits which have been acquired by the natives, under pressure or otherwise. But the Europeans have taken over some words and symbols, some of the agricultural methods and plants, some phases of the architecture of the sedentary tribes, and other traits of numerous cultures.

Culture Concepts. In the study of the dynamics of relations among groups, a number of terms have come into general usage to describe various processes and phases of processes, and other pertinent phenomena. Culture, the key term, in anthropology and sociology refers to the total social heritage of a people which sets them apart as a distinctive group. This includes languages, religions, practices and beliefs, technologies, diets, systems of social relationships, and customary tools and equipment for carrying on life activities.

Culture traits are the least units into which cultures may be analyzed, and every culture contains thousands of traits. A single word or phrase, a technique, or a device is a trait. Each trait gains its meaning from its place among other traits and in the culture in its entirety.

Culture traits may be divided into material and nonmaterial traits. The material traits are objects and types of objects, such as dwellings, mechanical devices, or the items of paraphernalia of religious practice. The nonmaterial traits are subjective in content, as typical ideas, philosophies, items of accumulated knowledge, and details of class and caste systems. Material and nonmaterial traits combine in meaningful patterns, some simple, others elaborate, and these patterns are called culture complexes.

While theoretically, as indicated, the distinction between traits and complexes is clear, the one referring to single items, the other to typical combinations of items, in application it is often difficult to say which is trait and which complex since every trait is so closely tied to and blended with other traits, and in descriptions of cultures there is much confusion in the use of the terms. This is true even with material traits, for each material trait has attached to it other material traits, as well as certain elements of knowledge and belief from which it is practically inseparable; and each may be broken up into lesser units.

The spread of culture traits and complexes from one culture group to others, or from one segment of a culture group to other segments, is called culture diffusion from the viewpoint of the group from which they spread. The same process is referred to as culture borrowing from the viewpoint of the groups which are acquiring the traits and complexes. The significance of the word "borrowing" is that it emphasizes the fact that the reception of traits is selective on the part of the borrowing group, rather than undiscriminating and automatic.

The culture group is the population which is the carrier of a particular and distinctive culture. Since culture is a human product and always essentially psychic in nature, it follows that no culture can exist except when its meanings are rooted in the minds of people who transmit them to the minds of their offspring, thus perpetuating them through time.

A culture group may be of any size ranging from a small tribe of a dozen persons to a large nation, or even to closely related populations of several nations, as those of Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage. In cases such as the latter, not only do culture groups transcend national boundaries, but they include members of different races as well, such as the large Negro population of the United States which culturally is a part of the Anglo-Saxon group. Under modern conditions of close contact among peoples and relatively rapid fusion, it is usually impossible to draw sharp lines between culture group and culture group, for always there is a large and fluctuating area of overlap. Nevertheless the concept of culture groups is a convenient one in the analysis of intergroup relations and has validity even though lacking precision in application.

Culture Lag. Culture lag is a by-product of culture diffusion and borrowing and refers to the uneven rate at which various traits and complexes are transmitted. The term has three applications. On the one hand, it refers to the fact that acculturation is piecemeal, some traits and complexes being readily accepted by a borrowing culture group while others are resisted or rejected. Some phases of culture change rapidly, others slowly, if at all. Between the parts which change rapidly and those which change more slowly there develop strains which are reflected in various problems for the changing group, and these strains are called culture lag. In most cases material aspects of culture, as technology, change more rapidly than nonmaterial, as religious beliefs, and thus, as is often said of our own culture, the old religious and moral controls become inadequate in a new phase of material development.

This relationship between material and nonmaterial aspects of cultures is not necessarily always true. Many instances have been noted, as among the aboriginals of Australia, in which nonmaterial cultural traits and complexes have changed more rapidly than have the material aspects. The point of the concept of culture lag, however, lies in the strains resulting from the selective nature of culture change, regardless of the kind of selection in a specific case.

On a world basis, perhaps the most important example of this type of culture lag has come from the wide acceptance of sanitation and other practices which have reduced infant mortality and increased the individual life expectancy. The result has been increased population which has first strained the existing economies of people, and later affected every phase of their group life. Specific examples of this may be found in nearly every part of the world.

In a different usage, the term culture lag refers to the fact that some segments of a culture group accept cultural innovations more readily than do other segments. This may bring about strains in customary relations within the borrowing group between the "progressives" and the "conservatives," the young and the old, the wealthy and the poor, or the educated and the ignorant.

Christian missionaries the world over have found some individuals and elements in the populations they have lived among more receptive than others to their teachings, and usually the result has been strains in community life and family or other organizations between the converts and those who resisted conversion. There are many instances of converts who have been subjected to severe persecutions or forced to leave their homes and communities as the price of accepting new beliefs and ways of worship.

A third use of the term culture lag refers to different degrees of acceptance or resistance to cultural innovations among culture groups in close contact with each other. Everywhere in the world such contrasts among groups exist, making for strained relations between the "advanced" and the "backward" peoples.

A notable example with far-reaching consequences in the closing years of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries was the rapid adoption by the Japanese of Western ways, especially of industrial production and military organization, while other countries near Japan "lagged" in these regards. The difference brought a critical upset to old power and trade relationships in the Orient, culminating in the Japanese efforts to create a Japanese-dominated "co-prosperity sphere," efforts which entered importantly into the Pacific phase of the Second World War.

Acculturation and Group Relations. The processes of acculturation, if followed to their logical extremes without deliberate interference, eventually would make for cultural similarity among all peoples to the point where one might envision a single world culture. Obstacles to such a consummation are so numerous and widespread that it is doubtful whether such an ideal has realistic meaning for the foreseeable future. What is presently more significant is that cultural diffusion and borrowing lead to strains in intergroup and intragroup relations and tend to disturb the unity of existing cultural patterns.

There may have been—and doubtless were—periods early in human history when culture groups could exist for long periods in almost complete isolation from other culture groups. In historical epochs, however, such situations have been rare; at present, even the most remote Eskimos and Australian aborigines have some contact with other culture groups. Thus acculturation with all the problems it raises is, and will continue to be, universal. The principal intergroup problems of the world are closely tied to this fact, as the political ideological controversies, the intense economic storms, the religious and other conflicts which stand as constant threats to world equilibrium.

The effect of acculturation upon race relations is less obvious but is highly significant in areas of acute race tensions. One aspect of this has been mentioned in connection with commonplace popular confusions of cultural with racial characteristics, in which alien cultural groups are considered as racially different even when no biological grounds exist for such beliefs, thus broadening gaps between culture groups and setting up bars to complete acculturation. Another aspect lies in the fact that, where racial differences are recognized and considered as important, the dominant group limits the access of subordinate groups to culture changes, thus increasing social lag along racial lines and adding strains to those growing out of the racial prejudice itself. Such situations have abounded in our own history as a people and are still important, as witness the perennial controversies over discrimination, segregation, and civil rights. A description of such a situation as it has existed within the European empires until recently, follows: [2]

> The whole concept of European cultures as a cornucopia from which things are freely given is misleading. It does not take a specialist in anthropology to see that the European "give" is highly selective. We never give any native people under our control—and we never shall, for it would be sheer folly as long as we stand on the basis of our present Realpolitik—the following elements of our culture:
>
> 1. The instruments of physical power: firearms, bombing planes, poison gas, and all that makes effective defense or aggression possible.
>
> 2. We do not give the instruments of our political mastery. Sovereignty remains always in the British or Belgian crown, French Republic, or Italian or Portuguese Dictatorship. The natives, except for an insignificant minority, have no votes. They are not equal citizens of the Empire, Republic, or Dictatorship. Even when they are given indirect rule, this is done under control.
>
> 3. We do not share with them the substance of economic wealth and advantages. The metal which comes from the gold or the copper mines does not flow into African channels, except the inadequate wage. Even when under indirect economic exploitation, as in West Africa and Uganda, we allow the natives a share of profits, the full control of economic organization remains in the hands of Western enterprise.
>
> 4. We do not admit them as equals to Church Assembly, school, or drawing room. Under some colonial systems, notably the French, African individuals can climb high in the political hierarchy. In British West Africa, race discrimination is less sharp than in the East or South. But full political, social, and even religious equality is nowhere granted.

ASSIMILATION

Acculturation is a part of the broader process of assimilation, which is set in motion wherever and whenever differing groups come into effective contact. Assimilation, carried to its logical extremes, dissolves not only cultural barriers among peoples, but also all other intergroup distinctions, bringing about not only a single culture but a single people in every sense of the word. Assimilation is described, often, in terms of distinguishable stages following each other in a more or less orderly progression—those of accommodation, formal incorporation, and amalgamation—the third stage marking the complete evolution of a single group from what had been two or more different groups. It is a relatively slow or rapid process, depending upon how favorable or unfavorable to its completion conditions may be.

---

[2] B. Malinowski, "The Anthropology of Changing African Cultures," *Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1938, pp. xxii–xxiii.

Accommodation. The immediate requirement of any situation in which alien groups are in contact is that they reach a living and working arrangement of some degree of stability. Such an arrangement grows out of the trial and error and the give and take of acculturation. It becomes the pattern on which members of each group base their expectations of behavior of members of the other groups, and thus there is the possibility of their "getting along." No matter how distasteful the arrangement may be to members of all or some groups involved, it gains at least tentative acceptance for necessary working purposes if it is to be a serviceable accommodation.

Some intergroup accommodations are relatively permanent, others are transitory and fluctuating; some are rigidly defined, others are flexible. In the short or long run, all intergroup accommodations change through time, since acculturation is a continuing process; and other elements in intergroup contact situations, such as relative population size and composition, scarcity or plentitude of resources, and means and avenues of communication, also change.

In situations where accommodation is lacking, confusion and conflict dominate until some accommodation is reached. Usually, where the accommodation is rigid and stable, prejudices are latent, but where it is only partial, flexible, and unstable, prejudice is apt to be intense and elaborately rationalized. Slavery, serfdom, and caste systems have all been forms of accommodation. Extremes of equality and tolerance have also been characteristic of accommodations. Any political, economic, religious, class, or other arrangement which permits unlike groups to function together somewhat predictably from day to day or year to year is a phase of accommodation. The stage of accommodation, as in the caste system in the past in India, may mark the limit of the assimilative process over a long period of time, but once an accommodation is reached, the further assimilative stages are in process, though they may long remain unrealized.

Formal Incorporation. Considered as logically and historically, the second stage of assimilation is formal recognition, usually punctuated by some form of ritual, of a degree of unity among members of the various cultural or racial groups. In modern nation-states, formal incorporation is the granting of citizenship. This step is, in and of itself, of relatively little significance in many cases, for while it may remove legal obstacles to closer working relations, it seldom changes the main features of existing accommodations. Yet, without formal incorporation, further assimilation is slow and difficult or even impossible, especially under modern conditions.

Formal incorporation is usually preceded by a period of deliberate training of the individuals or groups who are to achieve the newly recognized status. It culminates in some symbolic act, as a legislative decree or court order, which is the recorded basis for future claims to rights and privileges of the incorporated persons. In some cases the incorporation grants only limited participation in organized group affairs of the dominant group, or limitations are imposed despite formal prohibitions against them. Where racial groups are permitted formal incorporation into the dominant group, such limitations as bars to intermarriage are apt to persist. This is obviously true in some states of the United States where Negroes or others, admitted to citizenship, are nevertheless denied some privileges enjoyed by other citizens.

> By the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo the Pueblo Indians were granted United States citizenship, but were never allowed to participate as citizens. The Pueblos were governed by local custom and rulings of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior and are denied the protection of the laws of the nation and of the state in which they reside. This policy is reinforced by the Wheeler-Howard Act, which under the guise of Indian home rule, makes the Indians permanently dependent upon the Bureau of Indian Affairs. As a result of the chaotic system of legal procedure in force in the pueblos, a great deal of injustice is done, and injured parties are denied protection guaranteed to citizens by the Constitution. The Indians in the conduct of their own community affairs and in their participation in the All-Pueblo Council have shown the capacity for self-government. Whatever aspirations the Pueblos have shown to seek the protection of American laws and to participate in civic life have been effectively thwarted by the state legislatures and the Indian Service.[3]

Amalgamation. Usually considered the final stage of assimilation is the mutual acceptance by previously alien groups of intermarriage, without implications of social stigma. Whenever dissimilar groups are in contact with each other over considerable periods of time, some blood mixture takes place whether intermarriage is openly permitted or not, but often such miscegenation is socially taboo and offspring from it are refused acceptance by one or both groups. It is only when marriage between members of the groups is openly accepted by both groups and becomes a widespread practice, that it is referred to as amalgamation; when this occurs, the dividing lines between racial and cultural groups disappear, for practical purposes, and there emerges, in effect, a single group.

---

[3] Charles E. Hutchinson, "A Study of Acculturation Processes in the Indian Pueblos of the Rio Grande Valley," abstract of doctorial dissertation, University of Southern California, 1939, p. 1.

Assimilation is most complete where contacts are of the primary sort.

> It is this intimate, personal, and direct setting for assimilation which makes biological *amalgamation* or intermarriage of divergent groups so important as the background for complete assimilation. When persons of divergent cultures intermarry, the family life is bound to be affected, and the growing children will be exposed to training from both cultures. This cannot but result in some integration of the respective elements into new ideas, attitudes, and habits, that is, into new culture patterns. Yet mere mixture of races will not produce assimilation. Intermarriage must itself be in the mores and the law to make it an effective foundation for assimilation. In this country there has been considerable racial crossing between whites and blacks, but there certainly is no complete assimilation in spite of much culture held in common. With our immigrant groups, most of whom have a common racial background, biological amalgamation is a definite indication of such fusion. It is an inevitable step in the completion of this process. The very fact that male immigrants outnumber female immigrants, especially in the child-bearing ages, creates a situation which favors marriage of foreign-born men with women of native or mixed parentage.[4]

It is at the brink of this final stage of the assimilative processes that prejudices are usually strongest and where the most stubborn deliberate resistance to completion of assimilation is encountered. As between groups recognized as racially different, resistance to amalgamation is symbolized by the "color line," and it is strongly supported by pseudoscientific theories which hold that race mixture, per se, results in biological deterioration. Regardless of the lack of scientific support for such notions, they have strong holds upon popular thinking and are deeply rooted in the morality of many groups. In such groups even otherwise tolerant persons would curb all equalizing programs at the point where they would condone intermarriage.

Assimilation as Interchange. Like acculturation, assimilation is a two-way process of give and take between groups. In most situations there is a dominant group which sets most of the conditions for assimilation and, especially, makes rules governing formal incorporation. Even subordinate groups, to some extent, accept or reject, and even propose and enforce, some of the governing conditions. In accommodation, the subordinate groups must do most of the adapting. Formal incorporation calls for some cooperation from persons and groups being incorporated, just as it calls for a voluntary act of acceptance on the part of the dominant group. Amalgamation, notably, requires acceptance from all groups concerned, else it is not true amalgamation.

---

[4] Kimball Young, *Sociology*, American Book Company, New York, 1942, p. 870.

As illustrated in the history of the American people, it has been wave after wave of immigrants who have been *absorbed into* the American culture group, but the American culture has been changed in its nature by each absorption as has the biological stock. The same has been true in varying degrees in the racial and cultural fusions which have been taking place throughout the world and during the long span of human life.

> The term "social-cultural fusion" will be taken to refer to those situations in which two originally distinct cultures and societies fuse to produce a single homogeneous culture and society. The blending of Norman and Saxon elements to produce the later English would be a case in point. Genuine infusion always involves not only the disappearance of the two original cultures but also the amalgamation of the two original societies through the biological process of interbreeding. Practically all cases of the so-called assimilation of one group by another group could be more accurately classed as examples of fusion, since the culture of the assimilating group is usually modified by the introduction of elements from that of the assimilated.[5]

THE STUDY OF ASSIMILATION

Those who systematically study acculturation and assimilation as they are found in various places and among different peoples are confronted with the same type of difficulties as are those who study ethnocentrism and race prejudice. There are covert as well as overt aspects of culture, just as there are active and subjective phases of attitudes. To carry the similarity further, the covert aspects of culture are basic, and their understanding is necessary to the interpretation of the processes of culture change. In other words, the overt and therefore the more easily observed aspects of a culture are the relatively superficial, while the covert, ascertainable only by inference, are, in general, the more important. For the covert aspects of culture, various terms are used by various authorities—shared values, configurations, themes.

> If the observed culture is to be correctly understood, the categories and presuppositions constituting the implicit culture must be worked out. The

---

[5] Ralph Linton (ed.), *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes,* Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York, 1940, p. 502.

"strain toward consistency" which Sumner noted in the folkways and mores of all groups cannot be accounted for unless one grants a set of systematically related implicit themes. For example, in American culture the themes of "effort and optimism," "the common man," "technology," and "virtuous materialism" have a functional interdependence, the origin of which is historically known. The relationship between themes may be that of conflict. One may instance the competition between Jefferson's theory of democracy and Hamilton's "government by the rich, the wellborn, and the able." In other cases most themes may be integrated under a single dominant theme. In Negro cultures of West Africa the mainspring of social life is religion; in East Africa almost all cultural behavior seems to be oriented toward certain premises and categories centered on the cattle economy. If there be one master principle in the implicit culture, this is often called the "ethos" or Zeitgeist.[6]

Three-generation Process. Under circumstances favorable for assimilation it appears to be usually a three-generation process, and it repeatedly has been so described in the history of American immigration. There are, of course, many exceptions, for often circumstances are not wholly favorable, a term which would imply, among other things, strong incentives to assimilation on the parts of both the dominant and the subordinate groups. Often, in the cases of peoples who are closely similar racially and culturally, the incentives for assimilation are absent or weak, and such slight differences as separate the groups may continue indefinitely. When conditions are favorable, the three-generation process may be described as follows:

First generation—adults who have grown up in alien cultures, the characteristics of which have become deeply rooted in their personalities and individual life adjustments. In contact situations, such adults must find an accommodation, and often progress through formal incorporation (become citizens), but they are, in most cases, resistant to further assimilation and complete acculturation. ✓

Second generation—often referred to as "marginal" groups and persons, includes small children of first-generation adults who must grow up in two cultures, that of their own parentage and that of another group—usually dominant. This generation is seldom completely adjusted to or accepted by either culture group and thus has peculiar adjustment problems. Some members of this generation may intermarry with the dominant group and become completely identified with it, but this is exceptional. ✓

Third generation—when conditions are most favorable, the children of the second-generation group are identified with, and consider themselves a ✓

---

[6] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949, pp. 33–34.

part of, the dominant or newly emerging culture group, accept intermarriage as a matter of course, and recognize no real distinctions between the amalgamating groups. In terms of our own history as a people, they may recognize themselves and be recognized as of Irish, German, or Polish extraction, but such a consideration is insignificant beside their status as Americans and is, in itself, an aspect of the dominant American culture.

Just as this process may be lengthened almost indefinitely in some cases, it may also be abbreviated. In the history of our own national "melting pot" there have been many instances in which assimilation has occurred in the first or second generation, but such cases are exceptional. In parts of the world where subordinate groups are majorities, regionally or locally, the assimilation process is apt to be prolonged. In such cases the dominant minority finds it especially necessary to the preservation of its own position to emphasize ethnic distinctions, while the subordinate majority is in a better position to defend and preserve its own group ways.

CONDITIONS OF ASSIMILATION

In a very general way, conditions favorable to rapid assimilation are the absence of hindrances to the processes and the presence of strong incentives or compulsions. A people with a felt need for rapid population growth to occupy large open land areas or to furnish an industrial labor supply will often welcome an influx of aliens. Those of low economic status seeking betterment will usually migrate readily to "new" lands and opportunities. Such conditions, however, are adequate only to bring about effective culture group contacts and, as our own history has shown, do not in themselves guarantee complete assimilation. Reciprocal favorable prejudice on the part of each group involved is also necessary if assimilation is to be peacefully accomplished.

Opposing Ideals. Where alien groups are in effective contact, much of the course of intergroup relations is undeliberated by the members of either the dominant or the subordinate groups. There is, however, usually some recognition of the problems involved, giving rise to various ideals which may come to bear upon such situations. Almost invariably there may be found in the dominant group those who favor as complete and rapid assimilation as possible. Their emphasis is upon unity and equality among population elements. In opposition, there are those in the dominant group who place high value upon cultural variety and the stimulating effects of diversity. These would permit and encourage some limited acculturation but preserve as nearly intact as possible what they consider the more laudable and colorful aspects of subordinate cultures. Of course, there are always shades of opinions between the extremes.

Parallel differences of thought are usually found in the subordinate groups where these groups are in a position to exert some influence upon the assimilative processes. Some among them usually favor the most rapid possible assimilation into the dominant group in order to obtain the privileges, material advantages, and prestige which they think assimilation will bring. They are usually opposed by the conservative elements in their own group who fear changes in group ways, by nationalistic elements if the group has a nationalistic background or aspirations, and by others who would curb and restrict acculturation. The types of policy preferred by leaders in the dominant and subordinate groups may at times and places have an important, although not always predictable, influence upon both acculturation and assimilation. Otherwise, the use of ruthless force by the dominant group, as following armed conquest, may be needed to destroy one culture and replace it by another. As a general rule, enforced assimilation becomes arrested short of complete amalgamation and leaves vestiges of old cultural and racial distinctions, often crystallized into class and caste systems.

In modern times, political and economic opportunities have provided the principal incentives for subordinate groups to make the efforts and sacrifices called for in the assimilative processes. In other settings, religious conversion has played a similar role.

Strong competition for land, economic advantages, or political status may, at the same time, tend to speed and retard assimilation. Usually the dominant group and its members, under such circumstances, seek to reinforce their dominance and perpetuate their advantages by placing obstacles in the way of equal status for subordinate groups. At the same time, the members of the subordinate group are strongly motivated to overcome the obstacles and to remove inequalities. The outcome in such situations depends largely upon the unity or lack of unity of purpose in the dominant group. If there is general and effective consensus among them to block the subordinate group, they will do so indefinitely, but if the dominant group itself is divided, the assimilative processes will continue.

Special Interests. In addition to such conflicting ideals regarding cultural fusion, there are almost always particular special interests which have their influence. These may be found in various aspects of intergroup relations and vary in significance with circumstances, historical and otherwise.

Political authorities usually favor the type of acculturation which would make of subordinate group members obedient and loyal subjects and citizens. Economic influences usually prefer changes which would make subordinate groups good customers and efficient and satisfied workers. Religious leaders and organizations, educators, health officers, patrons and practitioners of the fine arts, and representatives of other restricted viewpoints all have somewhat special interests which they feel are at stake. In their totality such special interests often make deliberate approaches to the problems of assimilation a confusion of cross purposes and inconsistencies. To a large extent, any policy in regard to assimilation must usually be a compromise among varying interests according to the ability of representatives of such interests to exert pressures on policy formation and execution.

Groupwise Assimilation. Although assimilation is an individual matter in its final analysis, in which a subordinate group, member by member, advances toward identification in the dominant group, there are also important group aspects in the processes. Subordinate groups may and often do organize to speed or retard the assimilative processes, and the results of such organization are important in their effects upon the strivings of their members, and even upon persons who remain aloof from the organized group. This is because the individuals tend to become identified by the dominant group with the organizations, and the dominant group attitude toward the organizations is transferred to alien individuals whether or not they are actually members.

Numerous examples in our own national history reveal how organizations foster or resist rapid induction of their members in the use of the English language and the understanding of American ways. Such organizations usually speed the accommodation and formal incorporation of their members, but delay complete assimilation by their efforts to preserve features of the Old World culture and former national ties. Their attraction to individuals who are otherwise strongly motivated toward complete assimilation is that they offer a degree of security and status to persons who otherwise feel helpless and lost as individuals in an alien environment.

War and Acculturation. Wars which have involved considerable populations, by their subordination of all other considerations to that of victory over the enemy, have had the effect of speeding acculturation in most instances. This has been especially true of the global wars of the twentieth century. Native peoples the world over have been armed and trained in Western military methods, as a matter of war expediency. As troops of warring nations have moved among them, modern transportation facilities and sanitation practices and devices have been introduced. Governmental reforms have been granted to permit colonial peoples greater political participation as an inducement to keep them orderly and loyal in time of crisis. And in many other ways remote areas and their populations have been exposed to the cultural influences of the Great Powers.

Within the warring countries, the needs for manpower for armed forces and reserves, and for rapid expansion of industries for war production, have often upset prevailing prejudices and restrictions. In return for war services, peoples of subordinate ethnic groups have been granted privileges and powers previously withheld; or as penalties for failure to cooperate in the war effort, they may have been reduced to virtual slavery. Strong in-group sentiments engendered by warfare have dissolved previous animosities within countries and among allies, and previous class and caste systems, somewhat reflective of ethnic differences, have been upset or weakened.

The effects of wars, as noted above, are somewhat offset by relapse into old patterns and ways of feeling when war ends; in fact even stronger prejudices may be developed. But the return is never complete, and there always remains an important residue of acculturation in war's wake. Such acculturation, however, may have disorganizing effects within the group, or it makes necessary the working out of new modes of accommodation among groups during disturbed periods of reconstruction.

Résumé of Conditions. Thus, as in the case of the circumstances which enhance race prejudice and ethnocentrism, those which affect rates of acculturation and assimilation are numerous and varied. The conflicting policies and programs designed to control the processes, and the complexes of shifting conditions within which the processes operate, make analysis difficult and prediction, in any given case, precarious. Yet, through them all, certain directions are discernible. The fusion of ethnic groups appears to be the dominant long-run trend, and its rate an ever-accelerating one.

SUMMARY

The dynamic setting of race and cultural relations, in which kinds and degrees of prejudice play an important part, is described by the terms acculturation and assimilation. Both of these interrelated sets of processes occur wherever and whenever alien groups are in effective contact, and tend, in the long run and in the absence of deliberate obstacles, to obliterate group differences. Acculturation refers to the interchange among culture groups of traits and complexes to a degree which makes for practical working arrangements, while assimilation includes formal incorporation into a dominant group, and eventually, if unobstructed, intermarriage, and thus the rise of one group from what had been two or more distinct groups.

In the processes of assimilation there are distinguishable stages—accommodation, formal incorporation, and amalgamation—and only with the final stage may assimilation be considered as complete. Under the most favorable circumstances, assimilation may usually be thought of as a three-generation set of processes, in which each generation has its peculiar problems of adjustment.

While both acculturation and assimilation take place usually in situations in which there are dominant and subordinate groups, they are always two-way processes in which all participating groups and their cultures are affected. Under modern conditions of rapid communication and transportation and of expanding nations and world empires, both acculturation and assimilation are universal, drawing all existing racial and cultural groups into their orbits.

Much systematic study has been given to the dynamics of intergroup relations, centering largely in the concept of culture, and various other related concepts. Resulting from such studies has come a clearer understanding of assimilation as a three-stage process, as well as a three-generation process where conditions are generally favorable. Difficulties of such study lie in the fact that the more important aspects of culture are covert and can be known only by inference, a difficult and hazardous procedure. Despite this handicap, the understanding of deep-seated cultural elements and dynamics has greatly increased in recent decades.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Define culture.
2. What is the relation of the concepts of acculturation and assimilation?
3. What is culture diffusion? Culture borrowing?
4. How do race prejudice and ethnocentrism affect cultural dynamics?
5. What is meant by the covert aspects of culture? How may they be studied?
6. Why do some writers prefer the term fusion to assimilation?
7. Describe each of the stages in assimilation.
8. What are the characteristics of each of the three generations involved in assimilation under favorable conditions?
9. What conditions promote assimilation? What conditions retard the process?
10. What difficulties confront those who make policies to govern acculturation and assimilation?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bogardus, E. S., *Immigration and Race Attitudes,* D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1928.

DUNCAN, H. G., *Immigration and Assimilation,* D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1933.

HANDLIN, O., *Boston's Immigrants, 1790–1865: A Study in Acculturation,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1941.

HARING, DOUGLAS G., and MARY E. JOHNSON, *Order and Possibility in Social Life,* Richard R. Smith, New York, 1940, Chaps. XXIX–XXXI.

HERSKOVITS, M. J., *Man and His Works,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1948, Chaps. XXVII, XXX, XXXI.

KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE, *Mirror for Man,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949, Chaps. VIII–X.

LINTON, RALPH (ed.), *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes,* Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York, 1940, Chaps. VIII–X.

PARK, ROBERT E., "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 33, 1927, pp. 891–893.

———, and HERBERT A. MILLER, *Old World Traits Transplanted,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1921.

TAFT, DONALD R., *Human Migration,* The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1936.

WARNER, W. L., and L. SROLE, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1945.

CHAPTER 4

THEORIES OF RACE AND CULTURE

Considerable has been said in preceding chapters about various theories of race and culture with special emphasis upon their effect on popular thinking at the present time. As was previously stated, theories, once current among scholars but now discarded because of the accumulation of reliable information and the critical test of rigorous logic, tend to persist in uncritical thinking. They thus operate, at present, both as causes and as rationalizations of attitudes which underlie intergroup relations of various kinds. For this reason, the development of theories is necessarily of interest to the social scientist.

There is another reason why a somewhat detailed consideration of the theories of both the past and the present is fruitful in a study of relationships among human groups. This is that whatever supposed factual material may be chosen for consideration is usually chosen in the light of some theoretical position; and the meaning of the facts in this area of investigation derives from interpretations in the light of theory. It is only just to the student of race and culture relations, therefore, that the theoretical framework within which material is presented should be explained.

Contrary to the widely quoted axiom, facts never speak for themselves. To begin with, what constitutes a fact in science is a statement about something, whether the statement be verbal or in mathematical or other symbols; and such a statement in itself is selected from many possible statements which might be made about the same phenomenon. Only as such statements about things are related to each other in generalizations, does understanding begin, and generalizations are theoretical propositions. Ideally, perhaps, all generalizations would start with careful and systematic observations and build carefully and logically as the accumulation of observations justified. But such has not been the case in the study of race and culture relations, nor indeed in the development of any realm of scientific study. More nearly the rule has been for the most sweeping theories to be evolved first on the basis of very casual and unsystematic observations. Later, and usually slowly, the original theories have been corrected or discarded in the light of new and greater knowledge, and with the growth of criticism as a corrective technique.

The earlier theories of race and culture, as we now know, were based on scanty observation and were arrived at, then accepted, uncritically. They had the qualities of being sure, apparently simple and obvious, and final. Later and present theories, by contrast, are apt to be hesitant, tentative, complex, but more nearly in keeping with the mounting evidence brought to bear by many independent observers at work at different times and places.

The purposes of this chapter, then, are to throw light upon prevailing attitudes which represent the persistence of outmoded theories, and to present the theoretical position from which the study of intergroup relations, in so far as they arise from racial and cultural considerations, is at present conducted.

Early Thought. First, it should be recalled that concern with races as such, and sharp differentiation between the concepts of race and culture, are recent scientific developments.

The tendency among Greek and Roman scholars was to describe mankind in two categories: the civilized peoples which, of course, included their own in-groups, and all others, the "barbarians." Heroditus, the early Greek traveler and historian, described in some detail the customs and religions of numerous peoples of the Mediterranean world, going somewhat beyond the usual differentiations current at his time. Aristotle, in his political essays, wrote that some men are born to be free, others to be slaves, but he was thinking in terms of individual differences rather than racial ones. Later Roman writers discussed, with a wealth of detail, the tribes their legions encountered in their marches of conquest, as to both their physiological and their customary characteristics. They emphasized, especially, the differences between those who submitted to Roman rule and became allies and those who remained unsubdued and warlike. But none of the Greeks or Romans arrived at a tenable theory of race and culture relations.

In the Middle Ages, theologian-scholars distinguished among three great groups: the Christians or believers, the infidels, and the heathens. Infidels were those who knew Christianity but rejected it as the "true" religion, while heathens included all the great shadowy group of mankind which had not had the opportunity to know Christian teachings.

The dispersion of the Jews after the Roman conquest of the Holy Land gave rise to early anti-Semitism in various parts of the Mediterranean area. Such prejudices as then arose were based upon and rationalized in terms of religious conflict, primarily. When the Moors and Saracens invaded Spain and the Danubian basin, they were despised and fought as infidels rather than as an alien race. The same predominantly religious feeling was characteristic of contacts of European peoples with the Turks during the Crusades.

The eighteenth-century Neapolitan scholar Vico and, following him, the French writer Montesquieu were the forerunners of modern concern with race and culture. These men at least pointed to the need for systematic study of the phenomena of race and culture differences. Both of these savants, in seeking a natural science explanation for such variations, inclined to the notion that they reflected the effects of climate and geographic factors of human habitats. In effect it was the explanation of human life ways in terms of physiological peculiarities produced by natural environmental forces.

THEORIES OF RACE

There have been, principally, three types of theory of race: the theological, the racist or racial determinist, and the now more prevalent "mutationist." The theological theories have attempted to explain the existence of races by linking them with Biblical descriptions of human origins but, for the most part, have tended to minimize race as a necessary cause of differences in the behavior and thought of human beings.

> The teachings of primitive Christianity, with their stress upon the common fatherhood of God and the implied brotherhood of all men, were apparently opposed to the development of any social theory which would greatly emphasize race differences. St. Paul, however, had once advised a slave to return to his master, and the whole tenor of Pauline teachings was such as to afford a basis for the theory of status which became a feature of Christianity as soon as it became the state religion of the Empire. We may, for convenience, trace from the writings of St. Augustine the theory of the Medieval church that it is the duty of Christians to be content in the station of life to which God had ordained them, and, while this had no direct bearing on the question of race, it was a general point of view which operated against the doctrine that all men are equal and brothers. . . .[1]

In particular religious teachings, racial theories have been more explicit. Probably the outstanding example from modern America has been that of the Mormons in regarding the Amerindians as descendants of the "lost tribes of Israel" of Biblical lore.

Racism. The racists, or racial determinists, have usually discussed the origin of races in terms of biological evolution, arranging racial groupings in hierarchal orders of relative "primitiveness," considered by scientists

[1] Floyd N. House, *The Range of Social Theory,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1929, pp. 42–43.

now as a naïvely ethnocentric device. Linton comments upon a principal application of the scheme: [2]

> The rapidity with which this purely biological concept [Darwinian evolutionary theory] came to dominate all fields of European thought is proof of how badly something of the sort was needed. Under this theory European domination became its own justification. Since the whites had been more successful than the other races, they must be, *per se,* superior to other races. The fact that this dominance is of very recent date was glossed over by the average European's lack of any world perspective and by the elaborate attempts to prove that other races actually stood lower in the scale of physical evolution.

The Aryan Myth. The concentration of many German scholars in the early nineteenth century upon the study of philology strongly influenced racial theory. Many of the philologists insisted that linguistic relationships furnished the best clue for racial classifications. Using language as the basis for classification, they wrote of the Aryan race, the Celtic race, and others, including in each grouping peoples who spoke languages which appeared to be related historically.[3] The most significant product of their theories was what came to be known as the Aryan myth, or the notion of a superior race having its center in northern Europe and the British Isles, but including other peoples as far removed geographically as India. The obvious fact that members of the same race speak many different languages depending upon their habitat, as is the case with the Negroid, was ignored. The extremes to which such a theory can be carried was well illustrated during the Nazi regime in Germany, when it became the basis for national policy.

The Aryan myth is significant for modern thought as a forerunner of the later theories of Count de Gobineau, a French diplomat-scholar who studied peoples on his travels, principally in Europe and Latin America. His ideas have come to be known as Gobinism and have greatly influenced a number of writers including Stuart Chamberlain, V. de LaPouge, Madison Grant, and Lothrop Stoddard.

De Gobineau's Theory. Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882) sought a sweeping philosophy of human history and thought he had found a key in the factor of racial differences. His four-volume work, *The Inequality of Human Races,* set forth his ideas, supported by an imposing array of supposedly factual evidence. This book was destined to affect the thinking of western Europeans and their descendants profoundly, providing, as it did, a pseudoscientific rationalization for the expansion of European dominance over most of the peoples of the world. The ready acceptance of his ideas and those of his followers has been accounted for by one commentator: [4]

---

[2] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1936, p. 48.

[3] House, *op. cit.,* p. 45.

> As already stated, the assumption of racial superiority is a natural expression of group consciousness; it is a characteristic expression of that solidarity which springs from man's innate gregariousness; and it serves the magnificent purpose of elevating ego and of sharpening to a fighting edge the attitudes of heroic devotion. It has played and will continue to play a leading part in the group struggle for existence and power, and however fallacious may be its foundations some form of it seems essential for group survival. It is an expression of the will to live and a vital factor in that faith which enables the average normal person to face the uncertainties of life with courage and confidence. For the typically loyal mind it needs no labored proof; superficial differences constitute its self-evident demonstration. When, therefore, the doctrine is accepted by scholars in consequence of a vast array of evidence, and becomes the working basis for poets, editors, politicians, diplomats and statesmen, its influence on national consciousness may prove momentous.

Disregarding the inherent contradictions and involvements in de Gobineau's theory, its main elements may be summed up concisely:

All human history may be analyzed in terms of racial differences and race mixtures. Civilizations rise and fall, not for the many reasons often ascribed, but because of variations in the factor of race. The pure and advanced races are responsible for the rises, and degeneration arising from racial mixture, for the falls.

Basically, there are three races of man: the white, the black, and the yellow. Inherently, and independently of other factors such as the cultural, the white race is superior to the others. The black race is characterized by passion, and the yellow by mediocrity.

Whenever and wherever civilizations have arisen, it has been an initial result of a fusion of the white race with an inferior stock, but in every case the mixture has, in time, degraded the population and brought eventual decline.

Racial purity is essential for continued superiority. The Aryan branch of the white race, best represented by the German people, is the most nearly pure race, and the best equipped by innate intelligence to dominate and carry on civilization. It therefore becomes the duty of the Aryans to retain their racial purity in order to perpetuate and advance civilization.

The writings of de Gobineau and his followers were influential in

---

[4] F. H. Hankins, *The Racial Basis of Civilization,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1926, pp. 33–34.

England and America and especially in Germany, even more than in his native France. It is in their German development that they reached their greatest height and became crystallized into chauvinistic doctrines which played important roles in the moral mobilization of the nation for the First and Second World Wars and which, especially preceding and during the latter, led to excesses of cruelties against the Jewish people as non-Aryans constituting a supposed threat to Aryan purity.

American counterparts of Aryanism and especially of Gobinism include such early writings as Henry Hughes, *Treatise on Sociology,* and George Fitzhugh, *Sociology of the South,* both published in 1854. Both were attempts at the rationalization of Negro slavery in the South on much the same grounds that white and European ascendencies were being rationalized in Europe. These books stand as demonstration of the ethnocentric tendency in much that purports to be scientific and scholarly in the study of race and race relations.

Ludwig Gumplowicz. Another racial theory, having some elements in common with that of de Gobineau, was expounded by the Austrian, Ludwig Gumplowicz, usually considered as one of the European founders of the science of sociology. Gumplowicz (1838–1909) is best known for his book, *Race Struggle.* He, like de Gobineau, was seeking in human history a single causative factor which would explain the entire social process, and his ideas came to be known as "conflict sociology." The origin and rise of nations, he held, lay in the inevitable struggle among racial groups, which he considered the basic units of human life. The process, as he described it, included several stages:

First, the subjugation of one race by another. From this subjugation there follows the development of a caste system, which is later somewhat mitigated but which leaves a condition in the hybrid group of great individual, social, and political inequality. The original subjugation of one people by another is at first based simply upon the military application of force, followed by the rule of law and the concomitant idea of legal rights. In this later stage, it is generally recognized that all classes in the society have both rights and duties. The whole is then welded together by sentiments of patriotism, and a nation is formed.

The principal significance of Gumplowicz' ideas for racial theory generally was their dignifying of conflict among racial groups as natural, and of the inequalities in rights of those of differing racial stocks within the national state as a logical result of such conflict. Such interpretation gave strong support to notions that hostility between persons of different races is instinctive and a part of the natural mechanism of human evolution. It also furnished a basis for such alarmist writings as were popular in the early years of the twentieth century predicting the disastrous effects of the "rising tide of color" and the eventual inevitability of greater interracial conflicts in the future.

> Gumplowicz' assumption that the relationship of different ethnic groups is always and absolutely inimical, and that they are always in the state of permanent warfare, greatly exaggerates the situation. If they were so, the groups would have exterminated each other, and the history of mankind would have been finished long ago. Factual studies show that among primitive peoples there are groups which do not know war at all; and that among those who have war, it is by no means a permanent state. . . . On the other hand there are well-ascertained facts of a quite peaceful relationship of primitive peoples toward one another. As it was in the past, so it is in the present. War certainly continues to exist among contemporary nations, but he who would conclude from this that it is permanent among them or that their mutual attitude is always deadly inimical, would be obviously wrong.[5]

Ratzenhofer. Gustav Ratzenhofer was a contemporary and disciple of Gumplowicz. Where Gumplowicz had stressed intergroup conflict, Ratzenhofer applied much the same kind of reasoning to intragroup strife, stressing both its seeming inevitability and its basic place in the whole social process. In Ratzenhofer's theory, the origin of all social relationships is the "blood bond" and the inescapable condition of human life is "absolute hostility" of man toward all fellow men. Only as communities strive together against common enemies, he held, are the hostilities toward each other within the community subordinated to common purposes.

Although the theories of Ratzenhofer have had less direct bearing upon the nature of race relations themselves, his emphasis upon the natural hostility except within the natural "blood bond" supports notions of the instinctive hostility of race for race, and of members of one racial group toward those of others. But, as Boas has written: [6]

> If it is true that race antipathy among different groups of mankind takes distinctive forms and expresses itself with varying intensity, we may doubt whether we are dealing with an instinctive phenomenon.
>
> It will be found advantageous to investigate similar phenomena in the animal world. We know the particular antipathies between certain animals, such as a dog and a cat, horse and camel. These are organically determined, although they may be individually overcome. They might be considered analogous to the feelings between races if we had the same instinctive hostility or fear be-

---

[5] Pitirim Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1928, pp. 484–485.

[6] Franz Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life,* W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1928, p. 65.

tween individuals of different races; but this has never been observed. On the contrary, under favorable conditions the reaction seems to be one of friendly curiosity.

Biometric Theory. Sir Francis Galton, Karl Pearson, and their followers were mainly influential in the development of methods for applying measurement techniques to physiological and mental characteristics, used first for the study of individual variations, and later in efforts to establish innate differences among groups and races. Because the methods involved measurement, they have given a strong impression of being especially "scientific" with a result that the weaknesses in theories to which they apparently have given support often have been overlooked. Those who made early application of measurement techniques tended to accept uncritically the racial classifications coming from philologists and stressing the supposed Aryan race. Such studies, starting from this rather shaky foundation, were made mainly in disregard of cultural and other variables and purported to show the superiority of the Aryan or the white race, as the case might be, over all others. Such theories have directly or indirectly given strong support to naïve eugenic programs, to be discussed later.

Current Scientific Theory. There cannot be said to be entire agreement, even among scientists, regarding the questions raised by any theory of races. As has been noted, there is nearly general agreement among them now on the proposition that all races of man belong to the same species and therefore descend from a common ancestry. The differences now described in classifications into races and subraces are looked upon as mutations within the species, which have come to be fairly fixed in the heredity of identifiable groups. There is also now general agreement that race and culture (as well as nationality, language, and religion) are independent variables. Beyond this the agreement appears to be mainly negative, as previously shown—the denial of many of the previous suppositions regarding the meaning of race as it supposedly affects human capacities and behavior directly.

In sum, scientific theory now tends to minimize the significance of race itself in the understanding of peoples, and to emphasize the indirect effect of race in providing social visibility as a convenient peg upon which culture groups may hang rationalizations of their systems of social stratification and differential social controls.

> Through the protection afforded man by technology and institutions, the perpetuation of mutants that might otherwise not have survived has been encouraged. Their descendants form not only the present-day local types and subraces of *Homo sapiens,* but perhaps even the major human races that are

to be distinguished. What, however, of the other aspect of our problem? What is the influence of physical type or, as it is more often expressed, what is the influence of race on culture?

The scientific truth of the matter is that *culture influences physical type far more than physical type influences culture*. Full recognition of this is all the more cogent since so much of the discussion concerning the relationship between race and culture sees the problem as the determination of the degree to which race is instrumental in shaping the culture of a people and does not consider at all the influence of culture on physical type. . . .[7]

THEORIES OF CULTURE

Although the term culture, as now current in sociology and cultural anthropology, is of recent origin, the theories which would account for the various life ways of people are much older than are those of race. Plato and Aristotle had elaborate ideas of how people came to act and think as they do, and many of their forerunners had pertinent suggestions. What might be considered the beginning of modern theory of cultural differences began with Jean Bodin (1530–1596), the first of the climatic determinists, a group which ascribed differences in mind and temperament and, therefore, in cultures, to differences in climate.

Climatic and Geographic Determinists. Following Bodin, after an interval, came a considerable "school" of climatic and geographic determinists, or theorists who ascribed the differences in life ways of various peoples to the climates in which they lived and to geographic features such as altitude, several of whom were mentioned previously in connection with the development of the theories of races. Among these early theorists, the most influential was Montesquieu (1689–1759).

Montesquieu went further than Bodin in detailing the influence of geography on human cultural attributes. He elaborated the direct influence of climate upon human sobriety, upon the institution of slavery, and upon the forms of religion and the governments of peoples. Other geographic factors, such as the altitude, the nature of the soil, and the habitat in relation to the seacoast, were included among his theoretical determinants.

A number of later theorists followed this line of reasoning and developed it in the light of growing knowledge of geography and the increasing volume of comparative studies of cultures; and it remains, currently, one of the accepted theories to account for differences and similarities between and among cultures. Henry T. Buckle added the refinement to the theory that physical environment is most determinative for the relatively primitive peoples and loses much of its influence where civilized peoples are concerned, owing to their increasing control over nature.

---

[7] Melville J. Herskovits, *Man and His Works*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1950, 4th printing, p. 148.

The best known among recent exponents of climatic and geographic determinism is Ellsworth Huntington, noted explorer, who holds that high civilizations can develop only in moderate climates and that, as climate has changed from epoch to epoch in the span of human life on earth, so have the centers of civilization changed as a resultant.

Social Darwinism. A number of theorists have explained cultural differences in terms of Darwinian evolutionary theory, and more especially of Herbert Spencer's notion of the "survival of the fittest." In such theories, the course of cultural development is considered as guided by evolutionary processes lying beyond human control, in which unfit individuals and groups are constantly being eliminated in a highly competitive process, while the fit are "selected" to survive. Thus there would be, in the absence of unnatural interference, inevitable progress toward ever higher forms of men as physical types and toward higher forms of culture and civilization.

This type of theory has found recent forceful expression in the eugenics movement and its theoretical support. Drawing an analogy from the successful experiments in breeding domesticated animals and plants, the eugenicists hold that human types could be similarly subjected to controlled breeding, and human types and societies thereby improved. They have taken for granted that improvement in individual types would result in improved and more efficient forms of social organization. There are two interrelated programs which are advocated by eugenicists: the positive and the negative. The positive program calls for encouragement by legislation, education, and other means, of mating for purposes of procreation of the fittest persons in populations so that their offspring will form an ever larger proportion of the whole population. The negative program calls for the discouragement, by similar means, of the mating of unfit persons, or for their sterilization, so that such types would form an ever smaller proportion of the total population.

Eugenic theories and doctrines stem largely from the quantitative studies made by Galton and Pearson, previously mentioned, in which selective tendencies in reproduction among human beings were presumably demonstrated. Such findings, as shown by statistical calculations, seemingly showed that the poorly endowed individuals, mentally and morally, reproduce more rapidly than do the well endowed and thus, through time, the general level of the population in these regards is lowered. Such ideas have more recently come under critical examination which has thrown much doubt upon their validity.

CURRENT THEORIES

As previously stated, in the present theories of most anthropologists and sociologists, social factors are given precedence over the purely racial as determinants of behavioral and other significant characteristics of groups and individuals. The factor of race is viewed as significant largely because of the cultural interpretations which are placed upon race rather than as a determinant of cultural attributes. The behavioral qualities of individuals are looked upon as resultants of the cultures in which the individuals become socialized, rather than, as held by the eugenicists, the culture being the resultant of the types of individuals who make up the group. Present theory leans strongly in the direction of considering racial and cultural relations in the context of class and caste structure, and stratification is a key to the explanation of behavior where race and cultural distinctions are concerned.

> There is no immediate causal relation between race and culture. The two types of phenomena are separate in origin and sharply contrasted in expression. Race is a biological fact; racial differences are matters of physical heredity; racial changes result from mutations and selective survival. Culture is a social fact; cultural differences are results of historical experience; cultural changes result from discovery, invention, accumulation, preservation, and social transmission. The cultural backwardness of certain racial groups is a result of their social isolation, not a result of their racial origin. But the organic and social processes operate concomitantly in the world of complete reality; each is modified in its expression by factors of the other order.[8]

Of the significant place of the concept of culture in present theory, Linton has written: [9]

> One of the most important scientific developments of modern times has been the recognition of culture. It has been said that the thing which a dweller in the deep sea would be least likely to discover would be water. He would become conscious of its existence only if some accident brought him to the surface and introduced him to air. Man, throughout most of his history, has been vaguely conscious of the existence of culture and has owed even this consciousness to the contrasts between the customs of his own society and those of some other with which he happened to be brought into contact.

Cultural Relativism. Important to the present scientific attitude toward race and cultural relations is the concept of cultural relativism. It is the assumption that the traits and complexes—ways of behaving, thinking, and feeling—characteristic of any culture group and its members must be understood in terms of that particular culture with its unique developmental history. In other words, it implies the antithesis of ethnocentrism, or the tendency to judge alien cultural groups and their ways by the standards and values of our own familiar culture. In cultural relativism, what is right and wrong, good and bad, superior and inferior becomes, in each case, a matter of the particular cultural frame of reference within which such evaluations are being made.

---

[8] E. B. Reuter, *Handbook of Sociology,* The Dryden Press, Inc., New York, 1941, p. 59.

[9] Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1945, p. 125.

Culture Change. An important part of the theory of culture has to do with culture change, where it is necessary to reconcile two types of generalizations which have come from the many studies made of particular culture groups. One of these is that cultures are essentially conservative, that is, resistant to change; the other, that all cultures are constantly undergoing change, slow or rapid as the case may be. Upon an understanding of both change and resistance to change depends the analysis of the cultural differentials which are found among the various areas and peoples of the world. In this regard there has been a consistent drift of theory away from notions that change is always in the direction of "progress," directed by some vague evolutionary principle.

> Instead of the older view that every culture tends always to become higher and to develop more and more advanced forms, it would seem that we could more reasonably assume the principle of cultural inertia, which would view the culture as tending to reproduce itself by reason of its own momentum, once it has been definitely established and organized. This view would regard cultural change as everywhere a problem to be investigated. Contacts with other cultures are, no doubt, the most valuable as explanations, but any crisis which changes or interrupts collective habits will be significant. Famine, drouth, pestilence, and other catastrophes in nature will be found important events to be considered in accounting for cultural change, though it may be doubted whether the result is an improvement or advance. The usual effect is loss, though the issue rests on facts to be revealed in concrete studies.[10]

Pertinent to the question of culture change is necessarily that of the relation of the culture to the individual members of the culture group, especially that of the extent to which particular individuals are molders and changers of cultures. In our own cultural viewpoint we probably overemphasize the role and importance of "leaders," "inventors," and other types of individuals to the disregard of other interpretations which would have wider application and validity in comparative studies of cultures.

---

[10] Ellsworth Faris, *The Nature of Human Nature,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1937, p. 26.

But if we abandon the position which holds the capacity of members of a society to be determinative of the richness of their culture and if we question the dictum that the temperament of the tribesmen determines whether the tribe be warlike or peaceful, we are led to quite another view of the relation of the personality and the culture. Leaving out the question of the reorganization following a critical breakup—in which case a new type of culture may be expected to appear—it is tenable to assume that the culture of a people is the determining factor, and the personalities who grow up within it are its subjective aspects.[11]

Theory Summarized. From what has been said, the theory of race as it bears on intergroup relations is subordinate to that of culture. What constitutes an adequate theory of culture remains to be stated. Herskovits lists as the essentials of a theory of culture the following: [12]

1. Culture is learned;
2. Culture derives from biological, environmental, psychological, and historical components of human existence;
3. Culture is structured;
4. Culture is divided into aspects;
5. Culture is dynamic;
6. Culture is variable;
7. Culture exhibits regularities that permit its analysis by the methods of science;
8. Culture is the instrument whereby the individual adjusts to his total setting, and gains the means for creative expression.

Other summarizations have been made and are probably equally valid to describe present scientific thinking, but they include essentially the same elements.

Divergent Views. While most students concerned with human behavior find the concept of culture useful and that of cultural relativity seemingly sound, there are some divergent views. They arise from the intense preoccupation with culture that has accompanied the recent recognition of its great importance in describing and explaining most aspects of human behavior.

One group of cultural anthropologists and sociologists advocate a distinct science of culture, "culturology," further to emphasize the relative independence of the phenomena to which the term refers from racial and other determinants. In the words of one of them, culture must be viewed as "an extra-somatic continuum," and the idea of culture thus divorced from any attachment to human physiological (and psychological) implications. Such a view is probably extreme, since human beings are culture bearers, and without individual human beings the phenomena of culture would never have come into being, nor could they persist.

---

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[12] Herskovits, *op. cit.*, p. 625.

At the other extreme are those who think the term culture too vague to serve the requirements of application in research. As one of them has written: [13]

> In deference to the canon of parsimony the term "culture" may be discarded in favor of the longer, but more precise, "cultural behavior." The abstract noun, "culture," may or may not be defensible as a time saver—and in rigorous scientific discourse that is a lame defense. Adherence to the adjective "cultural" avoids the fallacy that makes "culture" the subject of an active verb and eliminates the spurious dichotomy, "culture and the individual." The role of individuals as cultural performers and creators is emphasized. "Culture" and "society" lose their mystical character as entities; "culture" never does anything to anyone. Whatever happens culturally to human beings in societies is done directly or indirectly by other human individuals—usually by specific, named persons who act in specific ways. Nor is "culture" a "product of behavior," since behavior is cultural.

Problems of Application. However useful the concept of culture may be for the study of relationships among the various peoples of the world, and as an explanation of the bulk of human behavior, the problems of application in modern situations remain difficult. Since culture groups admittedly overlap and since the dynamics of cultural relations result in constantly shifting boundaries between cultures, to delineate any group specifically as a culture group to the exclusion of other groups calls for a degree of arbitrariness. There is the tendency in this age of nationalism for each nation to consider itself a culture group, although there is no necessary correspondence between national allegiance and cultural attributes. A nation may contain several recognizably different culture groups, as does, indeed, the United States; and the dominant group in a nation may resemble the dominant culture group of other nations so closely that to differentiate between them does violence to the concept of culture, as is the case of the United States and the nations of the British Commonwealth.

Aside from the problem posed by national boundaries, there are those of regional differences within nations, where it is often difficult to decide whether to consider the peoples of the different regions, as of Scotland and England, as belonging to different or the same cultures. Language is undoubtedly an outstanding feature of any culture group, and one that is easy to apply in most cases as a distinguishing mark; but it is not so clear, in application, that all peoples speaking the same language have the same culture; nor that peoples speaking different languages do not in some cases belong to the same culture group, considering their similar institutions, values, and orientations. There is also the problem presented by the numerous bilingual peoples of the world, whose official or ceremonial language may be a different one from the language used most in primary group relationships. Thus it is that anthropologists and sociologists find difficulty in applying the methods used to study simple, limited, and relatively isolated groups to modern complex and closely interrelated populations.

---

[13] Douglas G. Haring, "Is 'Culture' Definable?" *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 14, No. 1, February, 1949, p. 29.

A further difficulty arises in some cases in connection with religion, which also has been used as an identifying mark of a culture group. Thus the Moslem peoples of the world may be considered, and often are, as being of one great cultural heritage. But the Moslem peoples not only belong to various nations and speak a great variety of languages, they also show marked difference in reference to other institutional forms and folkways.

It must constantly be borne in mind that confusions among such characteristics as culture, nationality, language, and religion render unscientific much of what has been thought and written about intergroup relations. But such recognition does not provide any clear answer to the problem of how, precisely, to draw lines of demarcation among cultures and culture groups. We can simply make the best approximation possible under the circumstances which govern in the world today, and try to make description and analysis clear by remaining somewhat consistent.

SUMMARY

There is a long history of human speculation about the more striking differences among human populations, because it has been a matter of common observation that some peoples contrast with others. In early social thought such differences were described and accounted for by such simple divisions as the "civilized" and the "barbarians"; or the Christians, the infidels, and the heathens.

Beginning with the eighteenth century, social theorizing has turned more directly to the phenomenon of race, and the development of systems of thought which presumably made its significance clear. There has also been increasing attention to the more systematic study of cultures and culture differences. Many of these theories, obviously ethnocentric in nature and inaccurate, persist in popular thought and pseudoscientific discussion.

Current anthropological and sociological theorists are agreed in subordinating race to culture in so far as human relations and behavioral characteristics are concerned. There are no necessary forms of interracial relationships, nor are any racial groups predetermined by racial factors alone to specific kinds of cultural adjustments or achievements.

Cultures vary, and their variations are best explained in terms of unique cultural histories rather than in those of physiology. In the idea of cultural relativism, we find the assumption that given aspects of cultures as well as cultures in their entirety are to be judged only in terms of the cultures themselves, and not according to the beliefs and standards of some alien culture group, even though that group be our own.

Under modern conditions in which there is much overlapping among cultures and culture groups, and such boundaries as exist among them are constantly changing, there is necessarily some arbitrariness in application of the term culture. Drawing sharp lines as among culture groups has become impossible, and only relatively consistent methods of approximating such delineations can be made.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How did the "Aryan myth" originate?
2. What were the principal points of de Gobineau's theory?
3. Why did de Gobineau's theories gain rapid and wide acceptance?
4. How does racism differ from present scientific theory of races?
5. What is the theory of climatic determinism of culture?
6. What has been the general trend in theories of culture?
7. What difficulties arise in efforts to apply methods used in studying small, simple, isolated groups to modern large populations?
8. How does modern theory account for culture change?
9. Is culture change synonymous with progress? Explain.
10. Are the people of the United States a culture group? Support your answer.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Barnes, H. E. (ed.), *The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1925, pp. 147–149.

———, and Howard Becker, *Contemporary Social Theory,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1940.

Benedict, Ruth, *Patterns of Culture,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1934.

Hankins, F. H., *The Racial Basis of Civilization,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1926.

Herskovits, M. J., *Man and His Works,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1948, Chaps. II, XXXVII.

Hertz, Frederich, *Race and Civilization,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

Hiller, E. T., *Principles of Sociology,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1933, Chap. XXX.

House, Floyd N., *The Range of Social Theory,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1929, Chap. IV.

Lichtenberger, J. P., *Development of Social Theory,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1925, Chaps. IX, XV.

Linton, Ralph, *The Study of Man,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1936, Chap. III.

Reuter, E. B., "Racial Theory" *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 50, 1944, pp. 452–461.

PART II

AREAS AND PEOPLES

CHAPTER 5

THE WORLD SETTING

The first part of this book dealt principally with the theoretical considerations essential for understanding the racial and cultural relations among peoples of the world. Most of the remainder will be devoted to a study of the peoples themselves, their racial and cultural characteristics, and the ways in which these affect their intergroup adjustments.

As has been emphasized in the preceding chapters, it is not racial differences themselves which enter directly as a determinant into intergroup relations, but rather attitudes toward real or fancied racial differences. A race is a statistical, not a functioning, group; that is, once definite and applicable criteria of racial differences have been agreed upon, the persons having those characteristics can be counted or their numbers estimated. But a race or a subrace does not act as a unit to promote group ends as do such groups as families, communities, or nations. Man is a cultural animal, and cultural differences and identities are of far more direct significance than are the racial; it is in cultures that intergroup attitudes and conventions have their roots. Thus, properly, cultural groupings will be the focus of attention in these chapters, and racial phenomena treated incidentally to them.

Culture and Setting. Cultures have their substance and reality in the thoughts and behavior of people, not as detached abstractions. They exist and survive because the people who are their carriers exist and survive. Any culture is the collective adjustment of a tangible group of people to their life circumstances, no matter how crude that adjustment may be or how inefficient it may be adjudged by persons of other cultures. Necessary to the complete understanding of any culture is the knowledge of environment and historical development of those whose basis of existence and survival it is.

People who live in the inhospitable regions of the Arctic and Antarctic have not developed large urban communities, with the necessary cultural adjustments indicated, for obvious reasons. Other peoples, whose accessible resources are so limited that poverty is inescapable, are limited in some phases of their cultural development by that fact. Other less obvious factors enter to limit or in part determine the characteristic life ways of groups. To recognize this does not mean that any theory of climatic or environmental determinism gives us adequate explanations of particular cultures or culture traits, for cultures develop according to principles of their own within the limitations set by physical conditions. Man, in his group life, has shown surprising ability everywhere to shape his physical world somewhat to suit his desires. He is never a completely passive agent in the hands of natural conditions and forces, but always he is affected by them, just as he also modifies them.

To make clear the relation of cultural types to life circumstances, the logical approach to their study is areal. Even though this is an age which, by comparison with previous periods in human history and prehistory, is an era of great relative mobility, the majority of people of the world are relatively fixed as to both the place and the circumstances in which they must live out their lives. In the following chapters, peoples will be considered by regions of habitation, in as great pertinent detail as the limits of a single volume permit. As a prelude to such considerations, there is some advantage in attempting an over-all world picture for purposes of perspective.

WORLD POPULATION

There are between 2 and 2.4 billion people in the world. There are, roughly, fifteen times as many as there are people in the United States. The world estimate is based upon sources which vary in accuracy, including fairly precise counts for a few nations and less accurate censuses and estimates for other areas; no one can pretend to know within several hundred millions of how exact it is. Nor is the figure a static one, for as many as 100 million persons may be born or die within a single year. There seem to be always more births than deaths, taking the world as a whole, so that the total grows continuously. A few early estimates of world population give some idea of how rapid that growth is. The world population was half a billion 300 years ago. A hundred fifty years ago, when the United States was beginning its career as a nation, the figure was probably near 1 billion.[1] It is now more than double that number. By extension of such a growth trend into the future, an extension which is justified by a knowledge of the factors which enter such trends, within the lifetime of present college students world population will be more than 3 billion persons.

---

[1] For estimates of past and future populations, and discussion of the bases of such estimates, see A. M. Carr-Saunders, *World Population; Past Growth and Future Trends*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1936; or for briefer treatment, any of the current textbooks on population.

Such increase in numbers will mean, of course, a more crowded earth and closer contacts among peoples than we have at present, and will thus affect problems of acculturation and assimilation. Precisely how such differences will be reflected in the future of any particular area or community it is impossible to forecast since the questions raised are complex and the interplay of factors is intricate. It can be said, however, that all people will be affected by the strains upon existing intergroup relationships whether they recognize the reasons for the strains or not.

Continental Distribution. The populated land areas of the earth are traditionally considered as separate continents, and the approach to the regional study of cultural and racial groups may well begin with the various continents.

Our knowledge of the population of Asia is far from complete, but most estimates agree that half or more of the people of the world live on that continent, which makes up roughly a third of the earth's land surface. Slightly more than a fourth of the people of the world live in Europe, which, with half as many people as Asia, has only about a fifth as much land area. That leaves less than a fourth of the world's population in North and South America, Africa, Australia, and the various islands. In rough approximation, the distribution for these latter areas is:

Africa, 8 per cent of the total world population; North America, 8 per cent; South America, 6 per cent; and Oceania (including Australia), one-half of 1 per cent.

It may readily be seen from such figures that the distribution of people is, numerically, very uneven in relation to land area. There is great disparity in population density, even more than the continental comparisons show, because within each continent there are even greater contrasts. In North America there is a great concentration of population in the middle Atlantic states of the United States, while the intermountain states, the Southwest, and most of Canada have very sparse populations. In parts of New York City there are as many as 20,000 persons living within a single square mile, while in large parts of Nevada there is an average of less than 1 person to the square mile. In South America some of the world's largest cities, such as Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro, are to be found, with corresponding urban population density, while in the Brazilian jungles and at the higher elevations of the Andes range there are very few inhabitants. The Sahara desert of Africa contrasts with densely populated portions of the northern strip of the African Coast. Similar contrasts can be found in every continent and in any region of considerable size, which means that figures showing average densities, while useful, seldom give realistic pictures of the true population situation. The world's densest population concentrations are found in Sumatra and Java, off the southeastern Asiatic Coast; and in England and the lowlands of northern Europe. The least concentrations are found in such Arctic regions as Iceland and Greenland, and in the great deserts and the high mountain ranges. Generally, seacoasts, river valleys, and the more fertile areas of great rainfall have relatively large populations, while inland, dry, and extremely cold areas have sparse population, regardless of the continent under consideration.

Sample Net Reproduction Rates Showing Relative Prospects for Continued Population Growth

COUNTRY	NET REPRODUCTION RATE
Asia	
Japan	1.571
Africa	
Union of South Africa (Whites)	1.264
America	
Canada	1.319
United States	0.947
Europe	
Italy	1.131
Poland	1.110
Germany	0.934
England and Wales	0.782

SOURCE: *Statistical Yearbook of the League of Nations, 1940–1941,* League of Nations, Geneva.

The growth in population numbers, and therefore the increase in density which has taken place within recent historical times, has been mainly in the Americas and Europe. Where, in 1650, the population of the Americas made up less than 3 per cent of the world total, at present it is nearly 15 per cent. In the same period the European proportion of the total has increased from about 20 to 27 per cent. At present the most rapid growth is that of the peoples of Asia, and the least rapid is that of the peoples of Australasia and Europe. Indications are that in the foreseeable future the most rapid growth will continue to be in Asia and will be extended to Africa and the Latin-American countries, while there will be relatively little growth in either Europe or North America. This is a reversal of recent prevailing trends, and it marks a vital turning point in population history and in the relationships among peoples. Current balances in world population distribution, as well as disbalances, will change. In densely populated portions of Asia there will no doubt be aggravation of present crowded conditions, while in Africa and Latin America there probably will be much greater numbers in areas which now have few people—too few for effective functioning under present-day conditions. For Europe and America there may well be greater stability in numbers than has been known in recent history, even though locally and regionally there will be marked exceptions to this rule. For example, the populations of southern and eastern Europe will continue to grow, while those of northern and western Europe will virtually stand still.

Racial Distribution. From what has been said in previous chapters it is plain that clear-cut classification of peoples into races is impossible, thus any figures which are given for racial distribution of the world's population are at best approximations. Yet, keeping this reservation in mind, it is of some interest to consider the numerical relations of the races, as well as their relative trends. Probably half the people of the world are predominantly Mongoloid, one-third chiefly Caucasoid, and one-tenth mainly Negroid. The remainder, about one-tenth, are simply unclassifiable under these major categories, even for the purposes of such a crude comparison. The Mongoloid peoples live primarily in Asia, the principal non-Asiatic peoples of the race being the Amerindians of the American continents. The Caucasoids are principally the Europeans and their descendants in the Americas, Australasia, and Siberia. The Negroid peoples are mainly those of Africa, and considerable populations in the United States, Brazil, and parts of southeastern Asia.

It has been the Caucasoid peoples who have been growing in numbers most rapidly during the past 300 years. It is interesting to note that this growth has occurred despite a steadily declining birth rate and is the result of an even more rapid decline in death rate. For a large portion of the Caucasoid peoples the death rate is now approaching what appears to be a minimum, that is, about 10 deaths per 1,000 persons per year; in fact, for a few nations it is even below that ratio. Thus, with birth rates continuing to decline, further growth of the Caucasoid peoples will be slower in rate and eventually, in all probability, cease. At the present time it is the Mongoloid peoples who appear to be growing at the most rapid rate. While their birth rate is also declining, it remains considerably higher than that of the Caucasoid peoples, and their death rate remains significantly high so that it may well decline considerably in the future, thus ensuring growth for generations to come.

The Negroid peoples of Africa and elsewhere have high birth and death rates, and since indications are that both rates will decline in the future, there is a strong probability that the Negroids may eventually be the most rapidly growing racial group.

The significance of such comparisons of trends is complicated and often obscured by the continuous process of race intermixture. In every case it is in reality peoples of mixed races which evidence these different population trends, and to be technically accurate, the comparisons are between hybrid peoples of varying and unascertainable racial heritages.

LAND AND RESOURCES

All the hundreds of millions of persons who at any given time make up the human population of the world have approximately the same basic needs as far as existence and survival as organisms are concerned. They must have air to breathe, water to drink, and food to eat. The air is everywhere plentiful and free of access, as is usually the case with water. Food is not everywhere plentiful, and only in very rare instances is it free for the taking. Scarcity is equally or even more true of other life necessities, allowing for regional differences in needs and in abundance or scarcity of supply. Food and the land from which it comes are subject to ownership and control by individuals, groups, and nations who may exclude other persons and groups from access to them or may make such access conditional on money or other payments. All the figures of human populations and their distributions and trends take on their full meaning only when they are related to the natural resources by which the people live, to which they have access, and which they may use to gain dominance over other peoples.

The Earth's Area. Most of the earth's surface is covered by oceans, seas, and other bodies of water which are not suited for human habitation, even though they are sources of considerable quantities of food and other resources. The land surface of the world is the principal natural resource; especially is this true of arable land which may be used for the systematic production of crops. The land surface of the earth is about 52 million square miles, of which from one-fourth to one-third is not usable for human habitation because of frigid temperatures, extreme desiccation, excessively high altitudes, or for other reasons.[2] Of the habitable area there would be about 1 square mile for every 45 persons if the earth's population were distributed evenly over it. Land which is arable at present is probably not more than 17 million square miles, or 1 square mile for each 140 persons, again presuming even distribution, a condition which does not exist, as has been noted.

---

[2] For varying estimates of habitable and arable areas and for a discussion of the bases for such estimates, see Isaiah Bowman and Others, *The Limits of Land Settlement,* Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 1937; and W. D. Forsyth, *The Myth of the Open Spaces,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1939.

Since Thomas R. Malthus published his famous essays on population 150 years ago, there has been a running controversy between those who view the man-land ratio and its trends pessimistically and even with alarm and those who are optimistic about its possibilities. The argument continues at present, especially with reference to the future of humanity. Suffice it here merely to point out that the opposing viewpoints exist and have demonstrated, if nothing else, that any sweeping conclusions drawn from the simply stated basic facts are open to question. Involved in the controversy are such terms as "overpopulation," "underpopulation," and "optimum population," none of which has precise meaning in view of the great complexity of factors involved in modern life. More pertinent for the understanding of the relationships among groups is the fact that all land, whether or not it is habitable or arable, is owned or otherwise controlled. Thus unevenness of man-land distribution and of access to land is firmly fixed in cultural factors such as customs, laws, and traditions of national sovereignty. Such cultural considerations render meaningless many of the arguments which tend to ignore them. Groups may live in areas rich in fertile land and other resources and still remain impoverished if they are excluded from the use of those resources; conversely, people may live in areas practically devoid of resources and yet be affluent through control of other, and often distant, areas of considerable natural wealth.

Human Migrations. As previously stated, most people of the world are relatively immobile in that they are, for one reason or another, rooted to the place where they are born or to its immediate vicinity, this despite the rapid and easy means of transportation which are available to the relatively few. Yet, under pressure of unfavorable man-land ratios or other conditions, large human migrations have taken place throughout human history. The greatest single migratory movement was that of 35 million Europeans to the United States between 1820 and 1914. In that same period about 25 million Europeans migrated to other parts of the world, and perhaps 20 million Chinese migrated north and south from China. Other known migrations of history have been quite small by comparison. Since the beginning of the present century, and increasingly, national laws have greatly restricted international migrations, and large-scale international movements such as took place in the nineteenth century are not likely to occur again unless there are radical changes in systems of control. Present controls tend to maintain certain broad aspects of existing uneven distributions and densities of populations.

Replacing large-scale international migrations are the growing migrations within national boundaries. In smaller countries with uniformly dense populations, such internal movements have little effect on the man-land ratios. In some of the larger countries, they are of importance almost equal to that attached to earlier large movements across national frontiers. This has been true in the United States, where a steady net westward movement of population has tended to equalize, somewhat, the general distribution pattern; and in Soviet Russia, where movements of people (often forced or under governmental pressure) from European Russia to Siberia and other parts of Asiatic Russia may well have important cumulative effects.

Careful study of large migrations in the past has led to a general belief among population experts that such migrations bring only temporary relief to overcrowded areas. The countries of Europe which had large emigrations in the nineteenth century have had, nevertheless, continuous population growth, perhaps first slowed by the emigration, then speeded by the improved circumstances resulting from less crowded conditions.

World Trade. With present modes of transportation, the distribution of people and resources need not limit the access of any group to goods since any given resource, in either a crude or the refined state, can be transported from its place of natural origin to any other place. It is because of this that great populations have been able to live in comparative abundance in crowded cities and densely populated countries such as England, even though the necessities for supporting life are not immediately at hand. Such distribution of commodities as does occur among countries is through the channels of world trade, which, like present migrations of peoples, are limited by numerous restrictions of custom and law. The problems presented by these controls are numerous and intricate and constitute a highly technical study in themselves. What is pertinent to this study is that, because of such restrictions, the physical possibility of moving goods from place to place does not ensure or provide anything which remotely resembles an even distribution among peoples. Increasing limitations on world trade, like those on human migrations, tend to keep present distribution patterns fixed as far as most people of the world are concerned.

Considered racially, the present man-resources ratios work greatly to the advantage of the predominantly Caucasoid peoples, and, conversely, to the disadvantage of those of other racial ingredients. Of course, this is a very general statement to which many local and regional exceptions may be found, but there is impressive uniformity wherever one examines the existing control situation. White peoples are apt to be the owners or exploiters of resources, even in areas where the great majority of the people are of other than Caucasoid stock. The oil fields of Arabia, the diamond mines of Africa, and the rubber plantations of Malaya are impressive illustrations of this. Such trade as exists between these areas and other areas of the world works mainly to the material and economic advantage of the whites rather than to that of other racial groups in them.

WORLD CULTURES

Man's culture groups are more numerous than are racial groupings and, as difficult as it is to find criteria for distinguishing clearly among races, it is even more difficult to find valid and applicable lines of clear distinction among cultural groups. Such broad divisions as Western civilization, Oriental culture, and the like may be used, but they have little value for close or critical study. The same may be said of such time-honored, although somewhat arbitrary, division of peoples into civilized and uncivilized, advanced and backward, or even industrial, pastoral, and agricultural, while admittedly each of these classifications has some validity and importance. The scheme used in this chapter lacks the simplicity and neatness of such categories but comes closer to realities. Thus, Western civilization, while having in common certain Graeco-Roman origins, may for many purposes be better considered as made up of several cultural heritages.

Anglo-Saxon Culture. One stream of cultural heritage is the Anglo-Saxon, which, in addition to having Graeco-Roman roots, also has its own distinguishing characteristics. Among these are its common language, the English; its uniformly high degree of commercial, industrial, and military development; its distinctive political institutions and democratic ideologies; its predominantly Protestant Christian religious heritage; and its deeply rooted notions of racial superiority with the accompanying characteristic "color line." The core of Anglo-Saxon cultural grouping is a predominantly Nordic subracial people, but it has come to include so many and such various racial and subracial types and mixtures of types that there is little real identity between culture and race remaining. For example, the American Negro is as much a part of the Anglo-Saxon cultural world as is the white population of New England. So are the hundreds of thousands of descendants of American immigrants, whether their forebears came from the British Islands or from Italy, Poland, or elsewhere.

The Anglo-Saxon culture group includes the greater part of the populations of the British Islands, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In some other parts of the world, as South Africa, where those of

Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage are in the minority, they nevertheless are dominant. There is no part of the world in which they are not an intrusive element, and aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture, if not its entirety, have penetrated into nearly every other culture.

In a rough estimate, those who are of Anglo-Saxon culture number about 350 million people, making them, next to the Chinese, the largest distinctive culture group, as well as the most influential and dominant. This dominant position has come from a historical growth and expansion mainly of the past 300 years which has been largely a by-product of British imperialism and now is perhaps chiefly sustained by the predominant position of the United States as the richest and strongest among the world powers.

Germanic Culture. So closely related in many ways to the Anglo-Saxon culture that the two are often classed together, is the Germanic culture. It is marked by a somewhat different group of languages, a different set of political institutions and ideologies, and a different historical development. In other respects it is quite like Anglo-Saxon culture. Its carriers include the peoples of Germany and Austria, the Scandinavian countries, most of the people of the Low Countries of Europe, and influential minorities in countries bordering on Germany. There are also small minorities of some influence in parts of Africa and Latin America, and in remnants of the Dutch Empire in Melanesia. They share, in general, the ascendency of Western civilization, but they have neither the world influence nor the power of the Anglo-Saxon peoples.

The predominant subracial type of the Germanic peoples is the Nordic, and they are more homogeneous in this regard than are the Anglo-Saxon peoples. They have had a rapid numerical growth in recent centuries, but being confined largely to Europe, their expansion has not been comparable to that of the Anglo-Saxons.

Latin Culture. Peoples of European descent whose historic origins have been in areas close to the Mediterranean Sea have developed their own somewhat distinctive culture, even though it, too, is based upon the common Graeco-Roman foundation of Western civilization. With the exception of the Greeks, they speak the Romance languages such as French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese, all closely allied, linguistically, to Latin. They are, on the whole, less advanced industrially than are the Anglo-Saxon and Germanic peoples, the exception being the French. Their religion is predominantly Roman Catholic. Their political institutions and ideologies stem more directly from Roman law and thus differ from the Anglo-Saxon. They have fewer customary inhibitions upon emotional expression and thus seem by comparison with northern Europeans to be volatile and excitable.

Predominantly Latin in culture are the peoples of France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, and the Latin-American countries, with the possible exceptions of Bolivia and Paraguay, in which native Amerindian culture still dominates many phases of group life. In many places where Latin culture is not dominant, it has penetrated deeply, as among peoples of North Africa, the Philippine Islands, and Hawaii. In Canada the French Canadians are a distinctive and potent minority, while various distinguishable minority culture groups in the United States are principally Latin.

Historically, the core of Latin culture is the Mediterranean subrace of Europeans. In Latin America about 50 million people who are chiefly Latin in culture are predominantly Amerindian in race, although properly referred to as *mestizos,* or mixed bloods. In North Africa millions of persons who are primarily Negroid in race are Latin in most cultural attributes. The Latin culture group probably presents less racial homogeneity than either the Anglo-Saxon or the Germanic.

The total number of persons of Latin culture is probably between 250 and 300 million. These people and their culture shared the same growth and expansion periods as the Anglo-Saxon group. The decline of Spain and Portugal from their former positions as leading powers, and the more recent decline of France, have left the Latins without a representative among the strongest nation states, which, in turn, has limited their cultural prestige and influence in the world. Perhaps their greatest remaining expansive force lies in the Roman Catholic Church which, however, is not always or necessarily identified with other phases of Latin culture.

Slavic Peoples. Remaining in the list of cultures of Western civilization (and their inclusion is controverted) are the Slavic peoples of Russia and eastern Europe. At one time there was considerable unity of language, custom, religion, and historical development of these peoples, but more recently so many cultural intrusions—Germanic, Latin, and Moslem principally—have affected them in varying degrees that such unity is now difficult to find or describe. Their sharing of political ideologies and institutions now seems to be their most distinctive common trait, but even these have been, for the most part, intrusive. Communism, the modern dictatorial totalitarian state, and rampant nationalism are all western European in origin rather than Slavic. The Slavic peoples have been less advanced industrially than the Germanic or Anglo-Saxon, but in Russia great strides have been made in this direction in the past few decades, using mainly the technologies introduced from other cultures. While many of the Slavs have been Greek Orthodox Catholic in religious expression, in Russia, at least, the church has been declining rapidly in significance and influence, and many Slavs elsewhere are Roman Catholic or Protestant.

Racially, the Slavic peoples vary. Those of Europe are chiefly Nordic or Alpine, with a problematic mixture of Mongoloid. Elsewhere, in the vast Soviet Union, are peoples of varying racial extraction who are more or less Slavic in cultural attributes, although many of these peoples have retained native cultures almost intact while under Slavic dominance politically and economically.

Peoples who may be considered Slavic culturally number about 250 million. The principal recent historical trend affecting them as a culture group has been the progressive loss of cultural distinctions with the absorption of culture traits and complexes from other culture groups.

The Moslem World. Southwestern Asia from India to the Mediterranean, and most of North Africa, are frequently referred to as the Moslem world, whose peoples are characterized by Mohammedan culture and closely related influences. The Semitic languages are predominant among them, but not universal. Perhaps their most distinctive shared attribute is religion, as the term Mohammedan would indicate. Even in this regard there are numerous exceptional groups such as the Jews of Israel and the Christian Armenians. In the main, they are retarded industrially and are just beginning to feel the strong influence of nationalistic political organization which has so long prevailed in Western civilization.

The peoples of the Moslem world include those of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Arabia, Egypt, and Pakistan, but there are also potent majorities and minorities in other areas stretching across North Africa, deeply into India, and even more distantly into China and Japan. Prior to the expansion period of the peoples of western Europe, the Moslem world had its period of leading prestige in science, art, and commerce; and its own period of expansion which carried its cultural dominance or influence into a large part of Europe, and far into Africa and Asia. Following that period of expansion, which ended a short time before Europeans discovered the Americas, the Moslem culture group has been in general decline in both power and influence. At present it is being penetrated by outside influences, especially those from Western civilization, a trend which will be further discussed in later chapters.

Chinese Culture. The 400 million or more Chinese people have, for so large a group, remarkable cultural homogeneity and constitute as well a distinctive subracial group. They are the largest distinguishable culture group in the world. They have the longest unbroken cultural history as a people, and their cultural heritage has been least influenced, until the past few decades, by intrusive elements. At present the rate of such intrusion appears to be accelerating rapidly. As in the case of the Moslem peoples, distinctively Chinese culture had its period of greatest prestige far back in history, and in this regard has been progressively in decline since before the time of the great expansion of Western civilization.

The Chinese have a common language, common institutions, customs, and traditions, and a common historical development. Their culture has been and still is largely agrarian and communal. They adhere to several religions, but their cultural attitude toward religion has been somewhat unique in that it has been one of philosophical detachment rather than of fanatical partisanship, as has been the characteristic of many other culture groups. Perhaps most distinctive in Chinese culture have been their family and kinship systems which have been the foundation and heart of their traditional social organization. In their period of greatest influence and expansion, they dominated the peripheral areas lying to the south and west of China, and such cultural phenomena as Chinese philosophies, arts, and crafts were influential as far away as Europe. The culture of the Japanese people had its main origins in Chinese culture.

At present most of the Chinese people live in China proper, as they have historically, but large migrations have taken millions of them into Manchuria, southwestern Asia, and the Pacific islands, and a few have migrated to Europe and America. It appears that the traditional Chinese culture now may be disintegrating under the impact of the culture influences from Europe and the United States which have been increasingly insistent during the past century.

Hindu Culture. One of the major culture groups of the world, numbering 300 million or more people, is composed of those people of India who share the largely religious life ways of the Hindus. While the term Hindu refers properly to a religion, as does the term Mohammedan, it also carries implications of social organization and other cultural phenomena. The Hindu religious culture overlays numerous other regional cultures in most parts of India, so that, while it dominates as a way of life, it is not the exclusive culture of that vast population.

Like the Chinese culture, that of the Hindus is among the oldest in the world, having a recorded history which goes back thousands of years. At present it is rivaled in many aspects of Indian life by intrusive Mohammedan and European influences, the chief of the latter being that of Anglo-Saxon culture, strongly implanted in the historic period during which India was a part of the British Empire. Also like Chinese culture, that of the Hindus has been more influential in the past than it is at present.

Other Culture Groups. While the culture groups which have been briefly discussed number their members in hundreds of millions of persons in each case, and their areas of domination and influence have been world-wide or continental in scale, most of the hundreds of other culture groups are small and limited in geographic scope. They range in size from a few thousand to a few million persons and have practically no influence outside their own communities.

The Eskimo peoples, it is true, range over portions of North America and Asia, but their numbers are very small. The aboriginal Indians of the Americas are divided into numerous distinct culture groups, in so far as they have retained any cultural distinction. The native peoples of Africa present a similar picture of many small groups with their own distinctive languages and life ways. While areas concerned are greater in central Asia, there again the peoples are various in their cultural attributes and affinities rather than belonging to any prevailing culture system.

All culture groups, even the most remote and relatively isolated, are under strong pressure from Western civilization. In a world view, the principal large problem of culture relations is that created by this impact. This situation, it appears, will continue into the foreseeable future.

THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

In an earlier chapter it was noted that there is currently a strong tendency to confuse race and culture with nationality. This confusion reflects the influence of nationalism in modern times both on intergroup relations and on the thinking of people. While it had its roots further back in history, as we know nationalism today it is largely a product of recent times, and at present it is an identifying mark of all peoples everywhere. Even peoples without conscious national allegiance live within national jurisdictions and are subject to national laws.

Modern nationalism has developed concurrently with Western civilization. It had its beginnings when the first European nations crystallized out of the chaotic array of principalities and independent towns of the Middle Ages, and proceeded in Europe at an accelerating pace until the German Empire emerged from the Franco-Prussian war in 1871. This one latter instance might be considered as symbolic of the whole rise of nationalism, because all modern nations were forged in warfare and have remained largely organizations to conduct wars. From Europe, the idea of nationalism, with its typical systems of relationships, was carried to the Americas, Africa, and finally to Asia and the Pacific islands.

The national state is, in its essence, the focal point of the strongest individual and group loyalties, and as such it subordinates other cultural and institutional attachments. In gaining such ascendency nationalism has often been identified with ideas of racial unity, as exemplified in the recent claims that German nationality corresponded with the fictitious Aryan race; with religious movements and organizations, as the once close affinity between the Spanish Empire and the Roman Catholic Church; with language, as in the case of the Irish nationalistic movement; or, in general, with cultural heritage, as in numerous European nationalistic crusades. Despite such efforts at identity, national states seldom coincide closely with cultural heritages and racial identities. Most characteristically, national boundaries and sovereignties transcend cultural distinctions and racial groupings.

In some instances nations have united peoples of diverse racial and cultural backgrounds into large functioning units, as in the cases of the United States and the Soviet Union. Within the United States are people of all races and of a variety of cultures who nevertheless can and do function efficiently as a nation. Within Soviet Russia are peoples of diverse races and as many as 100 or more ethnic groups who have shown the ability to function effectively as one national unit. In other cases, national boundaries have tended to break up previously cohesive cultural groups. This is outstandingly true in the Moslem world, which only recently has been brought under the domination of the nationalistic scheme. The previously closely united Mohammedans are no longer capable of functioning as a single group as they once did, but find that increasingly their loyalties must be to various nation states under whose jurisdictions they fall. Alarmists who, a generation ago, pointed to the future inevitability of wars of race against race, or great religious wars, failed to see the significance of the change which nationalism has brought to the effective alignments of peoples. The strength of nationalism was also underestimated by such prophets as Karl Marx who foresaw effective unity of the working people across international boundaries. Whenever, in recent history, a decisive test has come, nationalism has prevailed over all other bonds in marking both lines of unity and lines of division among peoples.

Imperialism. Modern imperialism has been a product of nationalism and has greatly affected intergroup relations. The Roman Empire paved the way for the spread of Christianity and the rise of Western civilization. The Spanish and Portuguese empires opened the Americas, Africa, India, and the Pacific islands to the influence of Western civilization. The French and British empires consolidated and extended these expansions of influence and control. The United States helped to "open doors" in China and Japan, thus completing the globe-circling political and economic bases for the ever-increasing penetration of European cultural influences and domination.

In general, the acculturation which has accompanied imperialism has been incomplete and slow except in a few outstanding phases. The working basis of most empires has been a bond of mutual dependence between the economy of the dominant group and the subordinate colonial groups, which has meant, usually, that colonies have been kept at a relatively low level of economic development, and this has been accomplished largely by leaving the native cultures relatively intact. The culture changes which have been introduced and enforced among the native colonials have been those which were designed at improving health and sanitary conditions, developing at least a minimal literacy in the language of the dominant nation, introducing Christianity, and bringing about a sufficient compliance with the morality of Western civilization to make imperialism palatable to members of the dominant nation. In keeping with the latter end, such institutions as cannibalism and slavery have been effectively suppressed, monogamy has largely displaced other marriage systems, and religious rituals which have involved extreme cruelty or supposed indecencies have been outlawed.

The recent course of political imperialism has been a difficult and expensive one, and the great political empires have been in a state of progressive dissolution for some time. In the case of the British Empire, which for generations has been the greatest, dominion status almost equivalent to independence has been granted to the largest areas, and Britain has relinquished political control completely over other considerable areas and populations.

A substitute for political empires has been the more flexible "economic empire" in which ties of economic interdependence have served to bind various peoples to strong and wealthy nations. The cultural penetrations under economic arrangements of this kind have probably been more rapid than under the older political empires. This is, in part, because the political autonomy which subordinate peoples retain makes the continuance of economic ties somewhat optional to them, and peoples whose attitudes and ways of living are alike can place greater reliance upon the continuance of close economic relationships. Thus it appears to the advantage of the dominant group to enhance such cultural likeness both by making subordinate peoples more like themselves and, to a lesser extent, by learning to understand the ways of the subordinate peoples. This course has been a principal tenet of the policy of the United States in regard to Latin-American peoples in recent years.

The spread of nationalism to all peoples throughout the world has made the maintenance of political and economic empires more difficult, and probably both have passed their peak as channelizing forces in the cultural and racial relations of man.

Internationalism. To some extent replacing imperialism as a world influence is the rising internationalism which has gained greatly as an ideology in the past two generations and which has had some effective expression in such international organizations as the League of Nations and the United Nations, as well as in related and subsidiary organizations. Both as an ideology and as a practical working force, internationalism has been unable as yet to cope successfully with nationalism. With many well-purposed plans, internationalism has done relatively little to affect intergroup relations except in temporary and superficial ways.

The general support of internationalism as an ideal results largely from fear of large and destructive wars. Extremists envision a world state which would replace existing nationalistic states and thus be in a position to ensure world peace; more moderate programs recognize the strong hold of the national states and would simply supplement them with machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Either type of program calls for some restriction upon prevailing national sovereignties and at that point, especially where the larger and stronger nations are concerned, the ideal meets with its greatest opposition.

From the point of view of intercultural relations, probably the most important aspects of the United Nations lie in its subsidiary programs designed at improvement of education in "backward" areas, the encouragement of the freedom of expression and related freedoms, and the freer interchange of scholars and their products among various peoples.

Ideological Conflicts. All racial and cultural relations have been affected by ideologies which have gained wide currency in the past 100 years. Mentioned above have been those of nationalism and internationalism. One of the principal ideologies to gain world currency has been that of democracy with the related doctrine of self-determination for all peoples. These ideologies have undoubtedly contributed to the increasing difficulties of political empires and have tended to make submerged groups in every country restive. Growing unrest has called increasingly for palliative measures on the part of dominant groups, and in some cases has brought political revolutions which have removed particular racial and cultural minorities from dominant positions in particular countries. A catalogue of such changes in recent history would require so much space that it cannot with profit be included here.

Since the First World War there has been a wide and rapid spread of various counterdemocratic ideologies including Marxism, more especially the doctrine of communism. For many, the great issue of modern times is the struggle between democratic and communistic ideologies. Certainly the ideological "war" has tended to disturb all intergroup relationships and generally to speed up processes of cultural diffusion. By their very nature, ideological "wars" involve unrealistic claims, charges, and countercharges, making it difficult to evaluate their actual effects with precision.

Despite the confusions of recent times coming with the rise of nationalism, the weakening of old empires, and the various world-wide ideological conflicts, the basic facts and principles underlying intercultural adjustments remain. There are in the world numerous groups with differing life ways, in contact with each other and presenting more or less stable adjustments to each other. The cultures, the racial compositions, and the life conditions of the groups are constantly changing, and the adjustments among groups are in continuous flux. In the experience of every group there are always forces which bring insistent pressure for change, but the culture of the group, a cumulative historical growth, is usually resistant to change. The influence of ideologies is to stimulate these opposed forces by serving as rallying points for group members who may be aligned on either side. Ideologies, which are themselves the product of a given culture, in that culture usually support the *status quo,* but in other cultures the same ideologies may be the basis for or justification of an attack upon the *status quo.* It is notable that the present influential world ideologies are all of European origin and stem from Western civilization, and thus are foreign intrusions among most of the cultures and peoples of the world. Because of this, they are often "revolutionary" in that they serve as bases for attacks upon the various elements of the existing cultures.

AREAS OF CONFLICT

While at any given time there are a few places in the world where the spotlight of news reporting fixes attention on existing racial and cultural conflicts, it is difficult at present to find any area where such conflict does not exist. The principal interracial conflicts are found in areas where the "color line" is part of the cultural heritage of the dominant group, as in the southern states of the United States and in South Africa. In India, where the traditional caste system is in decline at the time when the controls of the Empire have just been removed, there is much cultural and religious conflict among groups, in places aggravated by racial differences. The rise of the new national state of Israel has complicated cultural and religious conflict as well as nationalistic rivalries in southwestern Asia. The peoples of the Far East—Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans notably—are in various stages of a confused transition between old cultures and emerging new ones, the latter including nationalism and nationalistic rivalries. While from appearances the variety of racial and cultural groups within the Soviet Union are not in conflict, our knowledge of such internal conditions is probably far from accurate or complete.

To a greater extent than at any other time in history it would appear that all groups in the world are in one way or another involved in cultural conflicts, some immediate and overt, others imminent and still mainly covert. This can best be understood as a phase of the rapid changes taking place everywhere in life conditions and circumstances which are rendering old adjustments inadequate while new and stable adjustments have yet to be found.

SUMMARY

While it must necessarily be couched in broad general terms to which, in every case, there are notable exceptions, an over-all world view of racial and cultural relations is necessary to the perspective within which closer regional study may be made. The world population is steadily growing, more rapidly now than at any previous time. The distribution of that population is uneven as related to land area and the resources by which people live. This unevenness is reflected in the relative positions of dominance and subordination in which racial and culture groups find themselves.

Racially, the Mongoloid peoples are the most numerous. The Caucasoid peoples come next in numbers, but in part because of their rapid growth and expansion in the past few centuries, they are dominant in nearly every part of the world. In terms of trends, the Caucasoid peoples are near their maximum growth and will remain, in the future, relatively static numerically; while the Mongoloid peoples, and probably the Negroid, will show future rapid growth. This will further aggravate the present situation in which the minority white peoples control by far the greatest portion of the world's strategic resources.

It is not strictly along racial lines that intergroup strains are most felt, however, and far more important than racial distribution in most of the world is the cultural distribution of peoples. The Anglo-Saxon culture group, including not only Caucasoid but also many non-Caucasoid elements, is at present the most dominant culture group, whose influence has penetrated every other culture. Until recently, the Latin culture group has occupied much the same position. The Germanic and Slavic groups share the general ascendency of Western civilization.

Outside the various cultural streams included in Western civilization, the Chinese are the largest cultural group and have, as well, a high degree of racial homogeneity, but in terms of influence their culture is in decline and has been for many decades. Other culture groups, although numerous, are relatively small and lacking in influence beyond the bounds of their own communities. Everywhere the principal cultural problems are those growing out of the impact of the cultures of Western civilization upon other cultures, often with disintegrating effects to the latter.

All racial and cultural relations at present are affected by remnants of a declining imperialism, the rise of nationalism and of internationalism, and the world-wide ideological conflicts of the recent past and present, especially that between Marxism and democracy. Basically, the factors in intergroup relationships where racial and cultural differences are concerned remain those of adjusting a variety of life ways and viewpoints to each other when and where alien peoples are in effective contact.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is the world population? What proportion of this population lives in Asia? What proportion in the United States?
2. How do the different major racial groupings of mankind compare in numbers? What is the significance of their differential growth trends?
3. How are various culture groups classified in this chapter? Which is the dominant culture? Why?
4. Trace briefly the history of imperialism.
5. How has the ideology of nationalism entered into world racial and cultural relations?
6. What factors enter into the relationship of population to accessible resources in any given area?
7. What, briefly, has been the history of human migrations?
8. Give examples of important internal migrations of the recent past or present.
9. What ideologies other than nationalism have entered importantly into intercultural relations of the world in recent times?
10. Give the principal characteristics of one of the world's major culture groups.

SUGGESTED READINGS

CHAPIN, F. STUART, *Cultural Change,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1928.

GILLIN, JOHN L., and JOHN P. GILLIN, *Cultural Sociology,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1948.

LINTON, RALPH (ed.), *Most of the World,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1949.

MUKERJEE, R., *Races, Land, Food,* The Dryden Press, Inc., New York, 1949.

Ogburn, W. F., *Technology and International Relations,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1949.

Reuter, E. B., *Population Problems,* J. B. Lippincott Company, Inc., Philadelphia, 1937, rev. ed., Chaps. I, II, XI.

Sharp, Walter R., and Grayson Kirk, *Contemporary International Politics,* Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1940.

Sutherland, R. L., and J. L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology,* J. B. Lippincott Company, Inc., Philadelphia, 1948, 3d ed., Chaps. V, VI.

Thompson, W. S., *Population Problems,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1942, 3d ed., Chaps. IV–VII, XVI.

Townsend, Mary E., and Cyrus H. Peake, *European Colonial Expansion Since 1871,* J. B. Lippincott Company, Inc., Philadelphia, 1941.

Walter, Paul A. F., Jr., *The Social Sciences,* D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., New York, 1949, Chaps. I–IV.

Zimmerman, Erich W., *World Resources and Industries,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1933.

CHAPTER 6

RACES AND CULTURES OF ASIA

Asia, the largest of the continents, is the home of numerous distinct racial and subracial groups, and a variety of cultures. In an area of 17 million square miles, nearly five times that of Europe, live more than a billion people. The continent is nearly twice the size of North America, the next largest, and is much more densely populated, even though there are considerable portions, such as the Gobi Desert of central Asia and the heights of The Himalaya, where relatively few people find a precarious living. As might be expected in so vast an expanse of land, there are many contrasts in physiographic setting, ranging from the hottest to the coldest climates, some of the wettest and driest regions of the world, and the highest and lowest land altitudes. Most of the population has never been counted, and accurate records of births, deaths, and migrations are rare. Boundary lines between countries are usually vague and shifting. Communities range from a handful of tents of desert nomads to some of the largest cities of the world. With the great diversity of cultures, the most common attribute of Asia's peoples is poverty, yet included among them are some of the richest individuals and families on earth.

One of the commonest impressions of the cultures of Asia to be gained from outside observers is their seeming strong resistance to change. Some of them were among the earliest to flourish into civilizations in all human history, as is notably the case in both China and India, whose records go back thousands of years. Undoubtedly, through long periods of time change has come slowly, and in most of Asia there appears even now a stubborn tendency to cling to ancient ways. Yet, as in the case of most generalizations, there are notable exceptions, and it is increasingly the vogue to speak of "Asia in ferment." Japan has been able, in a few generations, to change from agrarian feudalism to modern industrialism. Soviet Russia is Europeanizing and modernizing her vast holdings in the central and northern parts of the continent. Even India appears to be in a stage of significant transition.

> The intellectual, religious, political, and industrial revolutions, each of which in turn shook Europe to its foundations between the Renaissance and the present day, have all been telescoped together in India in scarcely more than

a century. Except for the inaccessible mountains and jungles, the "unchanging East" no longer exists. India is on the move. The leaven of Western ideas, discoveries, and inventions is so powerfully at work in the lump of India's four hundred millions that no one can fully control the outcome. . . .[1]

LAND AND PEOPLE

The sheer size of Asia has always stood as an intriguing challenge to Western thinkers and writers, and some comprehension of it is necessary to understanding its intricate racial and cultural texture. Many anthropologists have regarded central Asia as the cradle of all human races, and indeed some of the oldest human and protohuman remains have been found in the interior of the continent. Modern geopolitics, which emphasizes land masses, looks upon Asia as the potential future center of world domination. In their view Europe is a relatively insignificant peninsula, and other lesser land areas, such as the Americas and Africa, when viewed in perspective, are simply detached "islands."

It is to be expected that in so large an area there would be many regional differences in physiography. The Himalaya are the world's highest mountains and are but a part of a series of great ranges which extend westward into Europe and eastward to the Bering Sea. Some areas, by contrast, lie below sea level, and a large part of Siberia is a seemingly limitless plain. Areas of southeastern Asia are drenched by the world's heaviest annual precipitation, while in southwestern and central Asia there are numerous deserts with practically no rainfall from year to year. These and other contrasts are the setting for a human drama in which most of the people of the world, divided by racial, cultural, and national boundaries, are in a continuous process of adjustment and readjustment to each other, at times and places by peaceful methods, and at others with shocking violence.

Population Concentrations. The greatest population concentrations, both for sheer numbers and in terms of relative density, are found in the southern and eastern extremities of the continent. Parts of India, Burma, Thailand, the Malayan peninsula, and the islands off the southeastern part of Asia are among the most densely populated areas in the world, with the lower reaches of the great river valleys of China and the narrow coastal plains of Japan coming close behind. Of the more than a billion people who live in Asia, over two-thirds live in India and China, and these two countries, together with Japan, have in them a dozen of the world's largest cities. These include Tokyo, Shanghai, Peiping, Calcutta, and Bombay, to list a few of the better known ones.

---

[1] Mason Olcott, "The Caste System of India," *American Sociological Review,* Vol 9, 1944, p. 655.

The general pattern of population distribution has not changed greatly in recent times, but there are notable exceptions. There has been a shift in China of the balance of population from the cities along the trade routes of the interior to the seaports, with the growth of commercial relations with Europe and the Americas; and in China, Japan, and India there has been considerable urbanization as the beginnings of industrialization have drawn millions of people into the large cities.

Northern and central Asia have, in general, relatively sparse populations; indeed, nearly a third of the continent has an average population density of less than one person to the square mile. Physiographic conditions and isolation have been unfavorable to population concentrations in the highlands of Tibet and in the desert and semidesert regions stretching from Arabia to the Gobi Desert of Mongolia. In recent decades migrations of considerable dimensions, largely forced by governmental policy, have brought a steady increase in the population of Russian Asia including Siberia, but considering the size of the area involved, population remains sparse.

With all this in mind, it is notable that very few parts of Asia have declining population; present trends, in so far as they can be determined, are those of rapid growth, and prospects throughout Asia are for even more rapid population increase in the future.

Racial Groupings. While all major races and most subraces are found among the inhabitants of Asia, race, as such, has played a relatively unimportant part in the human relations of the continent. The principal problems of racial adjustment are to be found in India where considerations of race appear to have entered into the determination of some phases of the caste system, and in those areas where white Europeans have had more or less continuous contact with native peoples over a considerable period of time. In the latter situations, the whites have brought with them, often, the race consciousness which has characterized their contacts with other peoples everywhere and which was epitomized in the writings of Count de Gobineau. This race consciousness has resulted in the whites remaining aloof from intimate contacts and associations with members of other racial groups as a matter of form, and has furnished rationalizations for domination and exploitation by whites of other groups. Especially where those of Anglo-Saxon heritage are concerned, there is to be found the typical "color line" serving as a bar to open amalgamation.

European Caucasoids make up a relatively small part of the Asiatic population, and in every great region except Asiatic Russia, they are in the minority. The great majority of Asiatic peoples are principally Mongoloid, including such subracial types as the Chinese, Mongolians, Eskimo, and innumerable mixtures of these with peoples of other racial stocks. Along the southern fringe of Asia are peoples who are primarily Negroid, but their numbers are not large. In India, southeastern Asia, and Japan there is a considerable intrusion of Melanesian and Polynesian blood.

Asia, like other parts of the world, has been the scene of such a long history of migratory movements and race mixture that racial purity, in an absolute sense, is very improbable.

CULTURAL GROUPINGS

Adjustment problems on the Asiatic continent are and have been principally those among cultural groupings, which are too numerous to describe in detail or even list completely. It will suffice here to treat a few of the major groups in general terms to show some of the contrasts in their life ways, the dynamics of their relationships, and the resulting problems.

One great cultural region is China proper and its surrounding peripheral areas, including Manchuria (Manchoukuo) on the north, Korea, Japan, and Formosa to the east, Mongolia, Tibet, and Sinkiang on the west, and Indo-China, Thailand, and the East Indies on the south. All these areas have been, intermittently, under the domination of Chinese culture and, to a lesser extent, under her political control. The center of the culture is China proper, with its present population of about 400 million people. Chinese culture, while having numerous variations even within China proper, is a relatively uniform and homogeneous one.

Chinese Culture. The Chinese have one of the longest histories of the peoples of the world, and one of the oldest stable cultures. It has been a culture which has been studied and described from many points of view, and as is true of all cultures, it is much more complicated than any brief description can show. Usually emphasis has been upon its stability and therefore its strong resistance to change through long spans of time. Structurally, it has had its foundation in a patriarchal and patrilineal family system, and beyond that in a common-descent group, or *tsu,* and in a closely knit village communal organization.

> The solidarity of the Chinese family manifests itself in all the relations of life. It is shown in the organization of the kindred. The father is the head of the family and, under the old regime, possessed the power of life and death

over his children. This power was identical with the *patria potestas* of the ancient Romans. There was no limit in the age of the son over whom this power might be exercised. Even though the children might themselves be parents, the father, so long as he lived, possessed this power of putting his unfilial children to death. But, although the father would not be punished for killing an unfilial child, the law presumed that in the case of unfilial conduct, the father would bring accusation against the child before a court, rather than take the law into his own hands. This was the practice of that ancient period, the sixth century B.C., when Confucius himself served as chief justice of his native state. It is said that a father brought before him a disobedient son for punishment involving the death penalty. Confucius imprisoned both father and son, and when remonstrated with by his Prince, replied: "When those of an older generation fail in their duty towards their juniors, it is not right for them to ask that these juniors be put to death. This father has not taught his son to be filial." [2]

Thus, the seemingly extreme authority of the family head carried with it a reciprocal responsibility, illustrative of the rather highly developed ethical ideas characteristic of old Chinese culture, an understanding of which is basic to its appreciation. The ethical teachings of Confucius and his followers have had a strong hold upon the people, who, by comparison with most other Oriental peoples, have not been deeply religious. Most Chinese have been identified with Buddhism, Taoism, and Mohammedanism in historical times; more recently, Christianity has gained a considerable following. The general Chinese attitude might be characterized as philosophical and somewhat skeptical, marked by a high degree of tolerance.

One result of this conception of religion has been of deep historical and social significance. Not being attached exclusively to any one religion, the resulting attitude of eclecticism has not been favorable to the development of either orthodoxy or heresy. Consequently, religious prejudices have not played so large a part in the life of the Chinese as with other people. Their history does not reveal them as the peaceful people they are often popularly supposed to be; on the contrary, they have been given continuously to warfare as have other civilized peoples. Yet, they have been spared one type of internal conflict disastrous to group solidarity and social development, namely: religious warfare. The local wars in which they have so frequently indulged have been chiefly dynastic and feudal; only on a very minor scale have they been sectarian. Similarly, unless connected with foreign or racial or feudal prejudices, religious persecution has played a minor part.[3]

---

[2] Edward T. Williams, *China: Yesterday and Today,* The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1928, rev. ed., pp. 54–55.

[3] Paul Monroe, *China: A Nation in Evolution,* copyright 1928 by The Macmillan Company, New York, p. 7. Used with permission of the publisher.

Throughout her long history, China has functioned as a nation, and her form of government has been, until a few decades ago, monarchical and imperialistic. But her political institutions were never strongly or effectively centralized. The provincial governments under the Empire had little control, usually, over the more local subdivisions at the community level. Even under the more recent Chinese republic, this remained largely true.

> Most people believe that China is a democratic country, but its democracy is of a negative sort. It is true that the villagers, after they have paid their taxes and fulfilled other occasional obligations, are almost completely independent of governmental administrations, and to this extent can be considered as self-governing. But a closer view of the public life of the village shows it to be far from democratic. Local affairs have always been dominated by the village aristocracy, the clan heads and the official leaders. Individual villagers or individual families have never taken an active role in initiating, discussing, or making plans. By and large the people have been ignorant, docile, and timid as regards public affairs. A real democracy is based upon participation by the people in community affairs, and the purposes of the democratic process are designed to enrich and improve the daily life of the people themselves. Neither of these conditions is true in Taitou, which therefore can scarcely be considered a democratic community.[4]

Taitou, the village mentioned in this study, was selected as a typical Chinese community, and doubtless what is said was largely true of other villages at that time.

While the essential institutions of Chinese life are very old and have changed very slowly, alterations are nevertheless visible and are probably being accelerated under the impact of influences from the outside, more notably those emanating from Europe and America. Also, as in all cultures, there have doubtless been disintegrating influences at work within the culture itself, not highly visible to observers, but working relentlessly to force changes.

> While these external forces are working toward the destruction of the old *tsu* organization [the common-descent group] the internal conflicts of the *tsu* have accelerated its dissolution. Based on the patterns of the family, the *tsu* assumes that all members are equal before their ancestors. Behavior has to be in accord with ethical considerations, which demand deference for seniority in age and generation, and so, to a considerable extent, ignore social position. The institution of common land to take care of the destitute and the education of intelligent members grew out of the same feeling. Yet we have seen that the tendency has been for the extensive holdings of the group to be leased out

---

[4] Martin C. Yang, *A Chinese Village*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945, p. 241.

> to tenants of other groups. In recent years this tendency has become accentuated and wealthy *tsu* members have increasingly refused their lands to *tsu* members, for strangers can be dealt with more easily in collecting rent. The pursuit of economic profit estranges the landless members from the prominent ones. Moreover, the management of the common land has always been in the hands of the socially important members of the *tsu*, and has given them a good measure of power within the group. . . . As the old patterns of Chinese society continue to disintegrate and disappear, there seems to be little possibility for the *tsu* organization to survive.[5]

While the picture given of the changing *tsu* pattern is clearly revealing, there is ample evidence that other phases and institutions traditionally Chinese show similar, and often parallel, results of stresses and strains both from within and from without.

For thousands of years the Chinese people have been in occasional but infrequent contact with peoples in other parts of Asia. With the European expansion beginning in the fifteenth century and continuing to the present time, outside cultural contacts have greatly increased both quantitatively and in their insistent effects upon Chinese ways of living. External trade and commerce have become of vital importance to Chinese economy and political structure, and European modes and instruments of warfare have played increasingly important roles in Chinese destiny. Now China is a field of conflict among alien ideologies, only recently introduced into Chinese thought.

> China was less prepared to be transformed into an industrialized capitalistic society than were other agrarian civilized countries whose civilizations were less developed than the Chinese when they came into contact with Western industrialism. The reason for this is that China was organized on the pattern of Oriental bureaucratic despotism, which is utterly alien to the West, and which proved incapable of serving as a transition toward capitalism. It was different with Russia and Japan, for example. They were feudal countries, and their organization bore a striking resemblance to the European pattern. They began organically to develop toward industrial capitalism, the elements of which are clearly apparent in seventeenth century Russia and nineteenth century Japan in the late Tokugawa period. In contrast to Russia and Japan, the transformation of China had no organic roots in the country itself.[6]

Thus it has been that the ancient culture of the huge population of China has been chief among the casualties of culture contact in recent centuries.

---

[5] Hsien Chin Hu, *The Common Descent Group in China and Its Functions,* Viking Fund, New York, 1948, p. 99.

[6] Olga Lang, *Chinese Family and Society,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1946, p. 336.

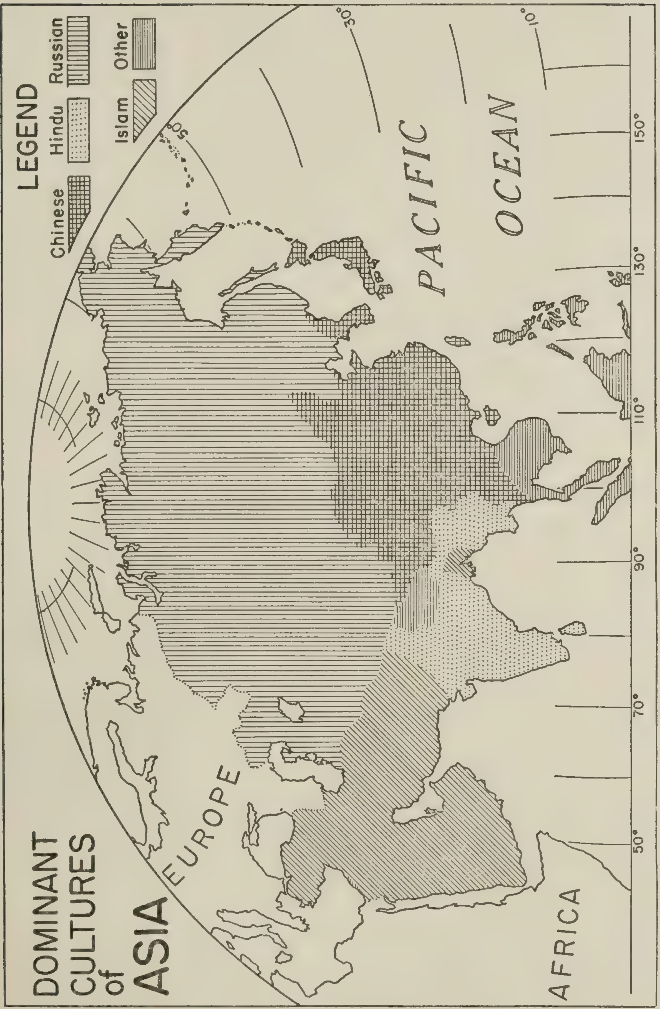
DOMINANT
CULTURES
of
ASIA
LEGEND
Chinese
Hindu
Russian
Islam
Other
EUROPE
AFRICA
PACIFIC
OCEAN
30°
10°
50°
150°
130°
110°
90°
70°
50°

FIG. 1

Peripheral Cultures. Whichever direction one moves from China he encounters peoples whose cultural and racial make-up have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. This is true of Manchuria to the north, of Japan, Korea, and Formosa to the east, of Indo-China to the south, and of Sinkiang, Tibet, and Inner and Outer Mongolia to the west.

Manchuria (renamed the Kingdom of Manchoukuo by the Japanese) has anciently been the home of the Manchu people, nomads closely akin racially and culturally to the Mongolians, who at one time overran China and established the Manchu dynasty. In recent centuries, however, the area has been a frontier for China, and millions of Chinese have migrated to its agricultural lands. The Chinese have become the major element of the population, and the culture is primarily Chinese. Politically, Manchuria has been a battleground where the Japanese, in their expansive program just prior to the Second World War, began their foreign conquests. Following the Japanese defeat in the war, it came largely under Russian influence. It is probable, however, that it will continue to be peopled mainly by Chinese and will continue to be a part of their general cultural transformation. Population remains relatively sparse but has been, and is, growing.

Similarly, Korea, with her 25 million people, has become a frontier of expanding Russian domination, after a long period as a part of the Japanese Empire, but has been historically, and remains, basically a part of the Chinese cultural sphere. Formosa, like Manchuria, has been the recent goal of heavy Chinese migrations and is principally Chinese in people and culture, despite its recent dominance by the Japanese. Japan, itself, will be given fuller description later.

To the south of China, all of southeastern Asia and the islands off its coast have had large infiltrations of Chinese in recent times. The areas adjacent to China, principally French Indo-China, have been strongly affected by Chinese culture, superimposed upon the variety of native cultures of the region. Most of what was French Indo-China was under Chinese domination for more than 1,000 years, and as a result many aspects of Chinese culture remain, to be reinforced by the current intrusions of Chinese people and influence. In Thailand:[7]

> Although the Thai are the chief inhabitants, the Chinese population is also considerable with some 800,000 who are still Chinese citizens and over 2,000,000 with some degree of Chinese parentage. Much of the retail and import and export business is in Chinese hands; no other group is willing to

---

[7] George B. Cressey, *Asia's Lands and Peoples,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1944, p. 507.

work so hard for so little remuneration. Chinese shops are found even in small remote villages. Serious racial antagonisms have developed on several occasions.

In middle Asia lie vast areas with few people which historically have, from time to time, been under Chinese political control and cultural influence. Culturally and racially the peoples of Tibet, Sinkiang, and Inner and Outer Mongolia are closely related to the Chinese, but since these regions are less accessible and less inviting, the migrations of Chinese into them have been smaller than to Manchuria, Formosa, and to southeastern Asia. Progressively these parts of middle Asia are coming under Soviet Russian influence and political domination. While these peoples have many interesting and even remarkable cultural characteristics, their isolation and the smallness of their numbers have kept them from playing an important role in the general Asiatic scene.

The Culture of Japan. The Japanese people, whose cultural roots were in Chinese culture, present, in recent times, some striking contrasts to the Chinese. The most obvious, for those viewing Japan from the outside, has been the national unity achieved in Japan which gained for her a position as a leading power among the nations until her disastrous defeat in the Second World War. The Japanese, while resistant to change in some areas of living, have also proved well able to assimilate rapidly elements of industrial capitalism with the result that, despite a paucity of natural resources on the islands, the group was able to rise above the abysmal poverty of other parts of Asia. The Japanese, too, were deeply, even fanatically, religious, which was, in part, both cause and effect of the unity of state and religion in a kind of state worship.

> These words [the unity of state and religion] carry us back to the days of Old Shinto when the affairs of the state and religion were avowedly one, when the chief officers of administration in political affairs were likewise the high priests of the national religion, and when the first concern of the government was to know and do the will of the gods. As we shall soon see, these same characteristics are identifiable to a remarkable extent in the Japanese state life of today. Contemporary Japan is witnessing a vigorous revival of the ancient unity expressed in *saisei itchi*. State Shinto is today so intimately associated with communal solidarity that participation in the former is regarded as the measure of loyalty to the latter.
>
> The modern Japanese state was deliberately established on a foundation which unified government and religion. In 1868 Shinto was made the state religion and has remained so ever since, in spite of strong statements to the contrary made largely on the basis of political necessity.[8]

[8] D. C. Holtom, *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1943, pp. 4–5.

It was this chauvinistic aspect of recent Japanese culture which was largely causative in bringing about the eventual clash of that people with the peoples of Anglo-Saxon heritage.

> Western race prejudice against the East was no greater than eastern prejudice against the West, but it brought greater disabilities and embarrassment to the Japanese because of their inferior position in international affairs. The western nations, securely established in the world they dominated, could well afford to ignore oriental criticisms of their institutions and way of life. To the Japanese, however, struggling for international status and recognition, every slight became a national insult which must be avenged. Their revival of the old myths of the divine origin of their land and people strengthened their pride of race and made them more determined to build a nation whose power could not be resisted. Every advance in military might was a step toward this long awaited goal. Their growing belief in their superiority deepened their feeling of contempt for western peoples of baser origin. When their ambitious plans for the so-called new order in eastern Asia were strongly opposed by England and America, the flames of racial hostility were fanned anew and the Japanese launched the attack for which they had long been preparing.[9]

There is probably a general tendency to exaggerate the effects of war, especially as to supposed changes in the basic cultures of peoples. The Japanese culture, without doubt, has been altered, and the American occupation forces apparently did bring about deliberated changes to make Japanese culture more like our own, especially in the political and economic spheres. Certainly, the future of Japanese culture will be affected, as will all cultures, by the general course of world events.

> What the United States cannot do—what no outside nation can do—is to create by fiat a free, democratic Japan. It has never worked in any dominated country. . . .
>
> The Japanese have taken the first great step toward social change by identifying aggressive warfare as an "error" and a lost cause. They hope to buy their passage back to a respected place among peaceful nations. It will have to be a peaceful world. If Russia and the United States spend the coming years in arming for attack, Japan will use her knowledge to fight in that war. But to admit that certainty does not call in question the inherent possibility for a peaceful Japan. Japan's motivations are situational. She will seek her place within a world at peace if circumstances permit. If not, within a world organized as an armed camp.[10]

Russian Asia. Chinese culture, which has extended its influence over larger areas and has at times included more peoples and greater populations than any other, might, in a sense, be considered the long cultural past of the continent. In that same sense, Russian Asia may well be considered as representing the cultural future of Asia. Taking in nearly half the area of the continent, Russian Asia is extending her influence far beyond her political borders and deep into areas which at former times have been under Chinese domination and influence. In fact, there are few corners of the continent to which this new influence has not reached. Russian Asia is the present spearhead of European influence, and while it apparently has left much cultural autonomy to the various peoples who have come under its political and economic sway, it has also brought considerable changes which are growing cumulatively.

---

[9] Jesse F. Steiner, *Behind the Japanese Mask,* copyright 1943 by The Macmillan Company, New York, p. 41. Used with permission of the publisher.

[10] Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1946, pp. 314–316.

For descriptive purposes the vast Russian realm in Asia may be considered as four large regions with a contiguous sphere of influence. Differences and contrasts among these regions, and even within them, are considerable as to population density and degree of cultural penetration, but all share in the same general trend, which is one of growth, development, and closer ties with the European nerve center of the Soviet Union.

The first region is that which forms an eastern fringe of European Russia in and beyond the Ural Mountains. This is an area of considerable population, new and large industrial cities, rapidly developing transportation facilities, and is, in effect, a part of European Russia as far as political and economic organization and people are concerned.

The second area, mountainous Caucasia, lies between the Black and the Caspian seas and borders on the nations of Turkey and Iran. It is an area of relatively dense population, containing some 10 million people, but they are heterogeneous in racial and cultural attributes. In it are several autonomous republics of the Soviet Union, and as many as thirty ethnic groups, including such peoples as Azerbaidzhanians, Armenians, Greeks, Kurds, and Jews. In this area is the Republic of Georgia, which was the birthplace and early home of Joseph Stalin.

The third great region is that of middle Asia, extending eastward from Caucasia across deserts, mountainous regions, and steppes to the periphery of China. Most of the area is unsuited for dense population, but there are numerous large oases in which are to be found a few cities with populations of from 100,000 to half a million people. Mainly agricultural and pastoral economically, it is also the scene of newly developed industries and of the extending cotton production of Russia. Distances are great, and facilities for transportation are few, and as yet, poorly developed. Its people are of numerous subracial and cultural types, having various languages, religions, and other cultural traits and complexes. Many of them are little known to the outside world.

The fourth region is that of Siberia, with its vast plains and forests and, in its eastern part, hills and mountains. With an area of about 5 million square miles it is nearly twice the size of the continental United States, and it has a population of probably fewer than 30 million people. Much of Siberia is too cold for extensive human habitation or exploitation, and the more hospitable regions are difficult of access. Through policy of the central Soviet government there has long been a systematic migration from European Russia into Siberia, so that the population grows steadily, though not rapidly; and in the future this region will probably have a much denser population than now.

Expansion of Russian influence has taken place throughout the entire area bounding Russian Asia to the south and the east. Such regions as the countries of Sinkiang, Tibet, Inner and Outer Mongolia, and Manchuria, already described briefly as peripheral to China, have come largely under Russian political control through the extension of lines of transportation and communication which tie them to Asiatic Russia. The close of the Second World War left the northern part of Korea under Russian control, and there has been steady pressure and infiltration into southern Korea from the Russian zone. Communist China, of course, represents an extension of Russian influence, strong indications of which have been felt elsewhere in southeastern and southwestern Asia. The eventual cultural effects of this general expansion of influence will be known only with the passage of time. All of it points to the great strategic advantage of the position of Russia in Asia.

Cultures of India. The subcontinent of India is effectively cut off from land contacts with other parts of Asia and thus has developed its own rather unique cultural history. With a population of nearly 400 million, India and Pakistan are in some ways comparable to China, at least in population, size, and potentials; and they share with China the general and seemingly hopeless general poverty of their masses. In contrast to China, India lacks the cultural and racial homogeneity of the former area and, with the exception of Asiatic Russia and parts of southern Asia, has been more directly under white European dominance than most of Asia.

Within India and Pakistan is to be found great diversity of racial and subracial types. At the southern fringe of India are to be found a few Negrito peoples of the Negroid racial family. Some of the peoples of northern India are apparently closely related to the European Caucasoids and the Semitic peoples of southwestern Asia. Among recent immigrants into India, found especially in the large coastal cities, are many Chinese and Europeans. In fact, there is no description of the racial composition of the population adequate to make complete classification possible.

The diversity of cultural and subcultural groups is complicated, and at places distorted, by the prevailing caste system which differs from area to area and as between rural and urban India. While other peoples and other areas have developed caste systems, nowhere else has it become the dominant fact in group life to the extent that it has in many parts of India. Some theories hold that the original castes arose from obvious racial differences, and there is some physical anthropological evidence to support this notion, but it is far from conclusive. Certainly some of the castes have a primarily religious significance, and in more recent developments, caste lines have tended to follow occupational differences. The complexity of the Indian caste structure is evidenced by the fact that several hundred distinct castes have been described by various students, some of them being recognized through most of India, while others have only local application.

The pseudo-official general caste system of the parts of India under Hindu control recognizes four groups: the Brahman, or priests; the Kshatriya, or nobles; the Vaishya, or cultivators; and the Shudra, or serfs. Such a simple set of categories falls far short of the complex reality, however, and fails to explain the intricate system. Not all, but many of the castes, have definite ethnic implications, as those of the Parsees, or refugees from Persia; and the Toda, or hill tribe members. The caste lines have served over a long period of time to give stability to the accommodations of the variegated groups of Indian population by keeping each in a definite place in relation to particular other groups and in relation to the whole. They have also tended to arrest acculturative and assimilative processes and thus to perpetuate differences.

The British, in their long period of political control over India, left the caste system largely intact as far as deliberate interference is concerned, but many forces have been at work to bring about gradual disintegration within it. Among these influences have been urbanization, the beginnings of industrialization, better means of communication, and greater contact with the world outside India.

The cultural history of India (including Pakistan) goes back far into the millennia before Christ, as does that of China, and it is tied up inextricably with religious history. Notably a home of mysticism, India has been the source of numerous religious movements, the most widespread of which has been Buddhism; and it has been host to others which have originated outside of India, such as Mohammedanism, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity. The earliest general religion of India was Vedism, brought in by invaders between 2000 and 1000 B.C., and the foundation for later Indian religious developments. These latter included Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Jainism. In the first and second centuries A.D., Hinduism developed as a revival of the old Brahmanism, and it has become the dominant religion of most of India, challenged seriously only by Mohammedanism, and locally by such cults as the Sikhs. In Hinduism are embedded the main institutions of India including that of the caste system.

British administration since 1800 has had marked effects on Indian culture, largely through formal education which has made English the language of educated classes and introduced them to Western science and thought. It also established an administrative system, introduced Western medicine and hospital care, and in other ways tended to westernize the subcontinent. Such effects were brought about, however, in the face of resistance and conflict. With its long colonial history, India has probably embarked upon at least a partial acceptance of Western civilization, especially by comparison with other Oriental peoples.

> Now types of culture, with vastly different ideologies and values, have come face to face in India and are engaged in deadly combat. India, with her rural, agricultural, handicraft culture, with a moneyless economy and village communism, with its social and political democracy through harmonious relations among the various groups, with an integrated view of life and education, with emphasis upon undefinable qualitative values, on a subjective broad-based nationalism and on man and the machinery of government, with a life of religious experience and spiritual freedom for the individual through general human welfare, with emphasis on power through repose, is confronted by a culture that stands for science, machine and mass production, for an urbanized, industrialized order, for an analytical view of life with its emphasis upon neuroses and complexes, for quantitative values and monetary economy, for struggle for existence and survival of the fittest, for accumulation of wealth and economic imperialism, for assertive, arrogant nationalism, for religion of scientific humanism and rationalism. India has sought the vision of the whole, not of the parts; she has been interested in life, not merely in the means of livelihood. She has combined philosophic calm and contemplation with dynamic action; she has stood for beauty and dignity combined with utility. But today the culture of science and machine has taken a firm grip on India and is slowly seeping her soul.[11]

The above quotation, while not exactly a detached and objective statement, does carry some idea of the more recent and present conflict of cultures in India. In fairness, it must be balanced by adding that under the more materialistic culture intrusions there has been definite and increasing decline in the country's death rate, some progressive control of the periodic famines which have scourged the area throughout history, and other measurable results of a comparable kind. It is also necessary to note that to define the situation in India as simply a conflict between West and East is an oversimplification.

---

[11] Kewal Motwani, *India: A Conflict of Cultures,* 1947, p. 26.

> In all of Asia there is nowhere else the cultural heterogeneity found in India. The political unity imposed by Great Britain tends to obscure the internal diversity in race, language, religion, and material civilization. India is a land of the widest contrasts. . . .
>
> Few generalizations apply everywhere. The Sikhs of the Punjab with their splendid physique and casteless society have little in common with the impoverished outcasts of Madras. Primitive hill tribes in Assam and educated Mohammedans, city students and illiterate peasants or ryots, wealthy Parsees in Bombay; all these make national coherence difficult.
>
> More than elsewhere in Monsoon Asia outside of Japan India has accepted the material culture and veneer of European civilization. But despite the long exposure, there has been little modification of the nonmaterial aspects of social organization and ideas. . . .[12]

Peripheral to India are her own northern frontiers, and such adjoining independent areas as Afghanistan, Nepal, and Burma. Afghanistan has served historically as a buffer state in the west, as has Nepal to the north in the Himalayan highlands. Burma is an eastern extension of India into southeastern Asia, which was legally severed from India by the British Act of 1935. These peripheral countries have a combined population of about 35 million (mostly in Burma), representing great diversity but generally strongly influenced by Indian cultures. All of them are less easy of access to the outside world and, therefore, less affected by intrusive European cultures.

Southeastern Asia. The great region usually referred to as southeastern Asia, including French Indo-China, Burma, Thailand, and Malaya, is still little known and largely unexplored. Geographically this area is exposed to and in contact with India to the west, China to the north, and the East Indies to the south, but it remains somewhat isolated and culturally distinct from all. The greatest part of the area is included within Indo-China, a little larger than the state of Texas, formerly a French colony, with a population of about 25 million people. Racially the people of Indo-China are chiefly Mongoloid but show considerable admixture of other racial stocks, notably the Melanesian. Culturally, the strongest influence from outside has been that of the Chinese, whose ways have been largely superimposed upon an early native culture which, from the evidences of ancient remains, reached a relatively high material development. For several centuries prior to submission to European control, Indo-China was, in effect, a Chinese province. Evidences of Western civilization are relatively scarce except in a few of the large cities.

---

[12] Cressey, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

Bordering Indo-China are Burma, Thailand, and Malaya, with a combined population of about the same number as that of Indo-China itself. Racially these bordering peoples are also mixed, and culturally they are somewhat less influenced by the Chinese. Burma, formerly a political part of India, has been more influenced from that direction.

Taking the entire area of southeastern Asia, the northern part is mainly Buddhist in religion, while the southern, like the major East Indian islands, is Mohammedan. There are also numerous native religions and sects which are neither Buddhist nor Mohammedan. The entire area was overrun by the Japanese during the Second World War, and the principal visible effect of this temporary dominance is the rising spirit of nationalism, causing unrest and problems for the few Europeans, who, though a small minority, are the economic and political authorities of the area.

Southwestern Asia. The southwestern part of Asia, including Turkey, Arabia, Iran (Persia), Iraq, Transjordan, and Israel, derives a degree of cultural unity from the historical dominance of Mohammedanism as a religion with its numerous cultural ramifications. Throughout ancient and modern history, this area has been the crossroads and meeting place of many mobile racial and cultural elements, some emanating from Europe and Africa, others from farther east in Asia. It was the scene of the development of some of the earliest civilizations, as notably the Babylonian of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley (now Iraq), but now its peoples are usually considered as "backward" by Western standards.

The principal key to such cultural unity as the peoples of the area have possessed comes down from the more aggressive stages in the development of Islam, or the religio-political movement centering in Mohammedanism. At the time of the European Dark Ages this movement became a great crusade. Its devotees swept across the north of Africa into Spain, through the Balkan peninsula of Europe, far up the Danube Basin, and eastward across mountain barriers into India. In more recent centuries it has been in decline, but it still serves as a bond, though tenuous, among 200 million or more people of that part of Asia.

First, to define terms briefly. There are perhaps 250,000,000 Mohammedans, adherents of Islam, in the world at present, but only about 40,000,000 of them speak Arabic, and of these by no means all are Arabs. What happened was that Islam pushed forward in a great wave that left three concentric loops. Religion went furthest, and language next; the Arab "race," if there is such a thing, the Arab "nation," made the smallest circle.

Nowadays when one says the "Near" East, one normally means Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and the small states of the Arabian peninsula and the Persian Gulf. It is, in a word, the region between Persia and the Mediterranean, much of it desert inhabited by Nomad peoples, and yet, because of its strategic position, a famous battleground of the great powers.

The chief common denominator is that it contains peoples who are Semitic in origin, whose predominant religion is Islam, and who speak varying shades of Arabic. The inhabitants of the southern Mediterranean littoral from Libya through Tunisia and Algeria to Morocco would fit in this category, but they are outside the province of this book. Egypt, from the point of view of both power and population, considers itself the No. 1 Arab state (properly one should say Arab-speaking state), but Egypt is, after all, in Africa, not in Asia, and is likewise beyond the scope of the present work . . . the Turks are not Arabs but Turanians, and they do not speak Arab, though for generations Islam was their religion. Nowadays the outlook of Turkey is essentially European.[13]

The Moslem peoples of Asia share with others of the continent the general characteristic of deep group poverty, and like other peoples in Asia, they are confronted with the problems brought on by the penetration of Western industrial capitalism with its threat to the prestige of their own native institutions.

It is evident that there are striking similarities and equally striking differences in the demographic conditions and problems of Egypt, Turkey, and Palestine. In all three countries the fundamental problem is that of modernizing an essentially Moslem population. Increasing urbanization and industrialization would probably set in motion or accelerate those forces that have in the West resulted in lower levels of fertility and mortality. Such modernization is necessary if the Mohammedan world is to break the bonds of poverty, illness, and political impotence.[14]

In modern times there has been a significant split in the Moslem people themselves between the younger and the more progressive groups on the one hand, and the older and more conservative. The younger and progressive, as exemplified in modern Turkey, have stood for the rapid introduction of Western ideas and ways, while the more conservative have opposed such innovations. Further complications have been intertribal and ethnic conflicts, which have, on occasion, blazed into armed revolts and cruel persecutions, such as long marked the relations of the Turks and Armenians, and those of the Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

---

[13] John Gunther, *Inside Asia,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939, p. 521.

[14] Ernest Jurkat and Louise E. Kiser, "The Peoples of the Mohammedan World," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 237, January, 1945, p. 106.

Among the recent elements, which have entered the general situation of southwestern Asia to initiate profound changes in the course of relationships, has been the rise of the new nation of Israel in Palestine, committed to rapid modernization. Another is the development of vast petroleum resources in Arabia and bordering areas, with capital, technical leadership and some political intervention, from Europe and America.

Ideological Conflict. News reports have emphasized that all parts of Asia, from the Mediterranean to the China Sea, have become involved in a world ideological conflict between capitalism and communism. This development has grown largely out of the Second World War and events which have transpired since, notably the conquest of China by Chinese communists. Both of these ideologies are from external sources as far as Asia is concerned. For perspective, the capitalistic-communistic controversy in Asia must be seen as a part of a greater and more complex struggle of numerous ideologies which has been under way for a much longer period. Coming from Western civilization, the ideologies of nationalism, democracy, imperialism, self-determination, as well as the Christian ideology, have all been, for centuries, in conflict with the systems of belief of the numerous native cultures. In each case they have tended to be disturbing to previous cultural solidarities, in some cases to the extent of bringing disaster to the native peoples, while in others, at least to judge from surface indications, they have brought material benefits. There have been other ideological conflicts, however, as among various Asiatic peoples and within some of the larger cultural groups, the most notable of which have been chiefly religious.

SUMMARY

Asia, a tremendous land area with every conceivable kind of physiographic condition to be found within its borders, is the home of more than half the world's human population and contains a great variety of racial and cultural elements. Racially, the people are chiefly Mongoloid, although probably mixed with other racial strains in all cases. The other major races and nearly all subraces are represented. The cultural diversity is even greater. The one generalization which would be valid for practically all of

Asia's peoples is that they live, and have since earliest history, in the most distressing poverty judging by the standards of Europe and America.

There has been little interracial conflict, as such, in Asia, and correspondingly little racial consciousness except where it has been deliberately cultivated by those taking sides on other issues. Cultural conflict, on the other hand, has been widespread and continuous. The present major cultural conflicts arise largely from the various penetrations of Western influences which have tended to hasten the disintegration of many Asiatic cultures, even those which have descended from the ancient civilizations of China and India. Capitalistic industrialism, with its concomitant urbanization, has brought change in many areas, and Western ideological conflicts have made of Asia a part of their world-wide battleground.

China and India are the most populous countries of Asia. In China there is a much greater degree of racial and cultural unity than is found in India, or, for that matter, in any population of comparable size in the world. India, with a bewildering heterogeneity in race and cultural make-up, is notable largely for its highly developed caste system which has tended to perpetuate such differences.

Russian Asia is succeeding China as the principal center of cultural influence and is rapidly extending political and economic control over other parts of Asia, especially those bordering on the Asiatic portion of the Soviet Union.

The people of Japan, culturally closely akin to the Chinese historically, have taken a different course from most of Asia in recent times, largely under influence of Western civilization. In a surprisingly short time the Japanese were able to create an empire and gain rank as a world power, only to come eventually into conflict with Great Britain and the United States and go down to defeat.

During the Second World War the Japanese overran southeastern Asia, which has been the least affected as yet of all the areas of the continent by Western influences, and left in their wake a rising spirit of nationalism in the Western sense which is now a disturbing influence as far as older arrangements between the European minorities and native majorities in these areas are concerned.

The Moslem world, or southwest Asia, once the center of a militant and crusading Mohammedanism, is now in cultural decline. Here, again, Western influences are increasing with a resultant rise in nationalism to disrupt and replace, in part at least, the previous religious and cultural ties which had given some unity to the peoples of the region.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is the general pattern of population distribution in Asia?
2. What are the most important racial and subracial components of Asiatic population?
3. Which are the principal cultures of the continent?
4. What are some significant characteristics of ancient Chinese culture?
5. In what significant ways has recent Japanese cultural development differed from that of China?
6. How has the caste system affected the culture history of India?
7. What area is considered the "Mohammedan world"?
8. What is the significance for the present and future of Russian Asia?
9. What have been the principal effects of the impact of Western civilization on Asiatic peoples?
10. How has the rise of the nation of Israel affected the cultural situation in southwest Asia?

SUGGESTED READINGS

BENEDICT, RUTH, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1946.

BIENSTOCK, GREGORY, *The Struggle for the Pacific,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1937.

EMBREE, JOHN F., *The Japanese Nation: A Social Survey,* Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1945.

ENNIS, THOMAS E., *Eastern Asia,* J. B. Lippincott Company, Inc., Philadelphia, 1945.

GUNTHER, JOHN, *Inside Asia,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939.

JACOBY, E. H., *Agrarian Unrest in Southeast Asia,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1948.

LANDON, K. P., *Southeast Asia: Crossroads of Religions,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1949.

MONROE, PAUL, *China: A Nation in Evolution,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

THOMPSON, VIRGINIA, *French Indo-China,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927.

TWITCHELL, KARL S., *Saudi Arabia,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1947.

WILBUR, DONALD, *Iran: Past and Present,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1947.

WINFIELD, GERALD F., *China; The Land and the People,* William Sloane Associates, New York, 1948.

CHAPTER 7

AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

THE PACIFIC OCEAN covers about three-eighths of the world's surface, and its islands and the continent of Australia have a land area about twice that of continental United States. Most of the islands are inhabited, and together with Australia they have a population of about 200 million people, or nearly one-tenth of the people of the world, if Japan's population is included. For the purposes of this book it is interesting to note that, as in the case of Asia, the population is very diverse as to both racial composition and cultural attributes. Most of the people of Australia and New Zealand are closely akin to other Anglo-Saxon peoples culturally and to other Nordic Caucasoids racially; but in Australia and elsewhere in the Pacific area are contrasting populations of very different racial make-up and with diverse cultures.

PEOPLES OF THE AREA

In general terms, most of the inhabited areas of the Pacific have been peopled by relatively recent migrations both from the Asiatic mainland and the islands immediately adjacent to Asia, and from Europe, as in the cases of Australia and New Zealand. But there are exceptions. In Australia, the aborigines probably represent much earlier invasions, as do some of the peoples found in other parts of the vast region. The Ainu of Japan, for instance, probably are a much older indigenous stock than is the much greater number of people more familiarly known as the Japanese.

The following quotation goes further into some of the problems of this type which confront scholars in the Pacific area: [1]

> Thus we are led to the belief that the Negritos once inhabited much more extensive areas in both the East Indies and New Guinea and that the ancestors of the Negroid Papuans and Melanesians passed through the East Indies at some time prior to the invasion of the preponderantly Mongoloid Indonesians and Malays in spite of the present lack of direct proof of such an occupation. We may suppose, therefore, that Negritos, Papuans, Melanesians, Indonesians,

---

[1] Daniel S. Davidson, "The Antiquity of Man in the Pacific, and the Question of Trans-Pacific Migrations," in George Grant MacCurdy (ed.), *Early Man*, J. B. Lippincott Company, Inc., Philadelphia, 1937, pp. 270–271.

and Malays came to the East Indies in the order named. Since the Malays seem to have been well established in the East Indies long before the beginning of the Christian era it seems not unreasonable to believe that a minimum of three millennia may have elapsed since the Mongoloid peoples assumed more or less complete control by exterminating by war or by assimilation the earlier Negroid occupants. By inference their first arrival in the region must be considerably earlier.

Still earlier peoples must be fitted into the chronology. The geographic locations of the Australians and Tasmanians indicate that they preceded the Negritos, Papuans, and Melanesians. That Australoids, possibly the direct ancestors of the Australians, passed through Java is demonstrated by the Wadjak remains which unfortunately cannot be accurately dated although there are reasons for believing them late Pleistocene or early Recent. Such an antiquity would fit very well with evidence from Australia where there have been many claims of finds of remains of dingo, brought by the Australians, with Pleistocene fauna.

Regions of the Pacific. At close range, as will be indicated later, any particular group of Pacific islands presents within itself variety and contrasts in its human population as to both racial composition and cultural attributes; but first it might be well to consider some of the cruder uniformities which make possible the description of the area under a relatively few major headings. For such purposes the following scheme of description is a useful starting point.

Australia and New Zealand, commonwealths of the British Empire, with majorities of white European people characterized by Anglo-Saxon culture, may be considered a distinct region which would include most of the land area of the Pacific. Their combined population is only about 10 million people, the great majority of whom are descendants of European immigrants of the past century. The largest indigenous group of this region is found in New Zealand, where about 100,000 Maori people, now largely acculturated to the dominant culture, are racially and historically closely akin to the other Polynesian peoples of some of the lesser Pacific islands.

The most populous region of the Pacific area, exclusive of Japan, with about a third of all its people, is a group of relatively large islands lying near the southeastern coast of Asia, and variously referred to as the East Indies, Indonesia, and Malaysia. The people of these islands, numbering more than 70 million, are closely related to the people of southeastern Asia both racially and culturally. Most of them have been under the political control of the Netherlands in recent times and have only within the past few years achieved dominion status in the Dutch Empire. They make up, in fact, most of the Dutch overseas holdings. They are, by European standards, "backward" as a people, mainly village dwellers at a low stage of the arts, but are becoming increasingly urbanized, and like other peoples who were under Japanese control during the Second World War, they have shown a rising spirit of nationalism with an accompanying desire for political self-determination.

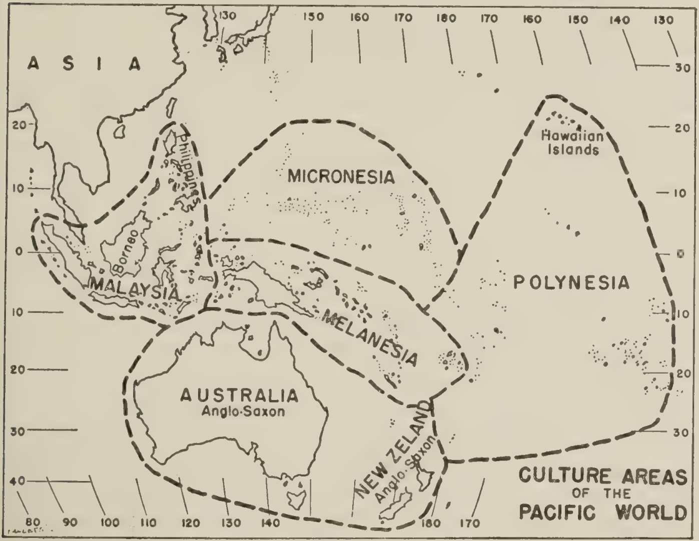
ASIA
MICRONESIA
Hawaiian Islands
POLYNESIA
Philippines
Borneo
MALAYSIA
MELANESIA
AUSTRALIA
Anglo-Saxon
NEW ZEALAND
Anglo-Saxon
CULTURE AREAS OF THE PACIFIC WORLD
130
150
160
170
180
170
160
150
140
130
80
90
100
110
120
130
140
180
170
30
20
10
0
10
20
30
40

FIG. 2

Japan and Formosa are sometimes included in Malaysia, and their peoples have much in common with those of the rest of Malaysia, especially in racial characteristics. They have previously been described in the chapter on Asia.

The Philippine Islands and their peoples, for much the same reasons, might be considered as a part of Malaysia, but their size and importance in the general picture of cultural contacts, as well as their close relationship with the United States, make it desirable to give them special consideration. There are hundreds of islands, large and small, in the Philippine group, and on them live a mixture of peoples of various racial complexions, with cultures ranging from the most "primitive" to the practically Americanized dwellers of Manila. Long under Mohammedan domination, later under Spanish Catholic rule, and more recently under the United States, but now independent, the Filipinos' is a mixed heritage of outside influences more complex than is found in most other Pacific regions.

Lying east of Indonesia, north of the Australian continent, and south of the equator are the islands of Melanesia, the largest being New Guinea, and including the Bismarck archipelago, the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, the Fiji Islands, and other lesser islands and groups. Of the few more than a million people who live on these islands, the great majority are classed as Melanesians, a mixed racial group with marked Negroid characteristics—dark skin and often frizzly hair. Among them there has been in recent years a large incursion of Chinese. European whites make up but a minute proportion of the population. Three-fourths the people of the group live on New Guinea, which, next to Greenland, is the largest island in the world. The native peoples of these islands have long been in contact with and under political control of Europeans and Americans but, for the most part, retain their native cultures.

Brought into special prominence by the Second World War is a numerous group of islands extending northward from the Melanesians, called the Micronesians because of their very small size. They have, altogether, a land area equal about to that of the state of Delaware. Some of the islands are not inhabited, and the native peoples of those which are are less well known than are those of the other Pacific islands. Included among the Micronesians are such groups as the Caroline Islands, the Marianas, Gilberts, and Marshall Islands, and such famous battlegrounds as Guadalcanal, Kwajalein, and Guam. The peoples are a varying mixture, apparently, of Malaynesian, Melanesian, and Polynesian stocks, and their cultures are more "primitive" than those of most of the rest of the Pacific peoples, combining indigenous characteristics with those resulting from several outside influences.

Stretching eastward from the Melanesians and straddling the equator is a group of islands of various size known as Polynesia. It is these islands and their people who are most usually associated with the romantic fictions of the South Seas. Among them are Samoa, the Society Islands, the Marquesas, as well as the Hawaiian Islands. Racially, the peoples are a mixture of native Polynesians, a light-skinned subrace generally regarded as handsome and probably representing a migration from the East Indies eastward at about the beginning of the Christian era; increasing numbers and proportions of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos as a result of more recent migrations; and, especially in the Hawaiian Islands, a considerable population of Americans and Europeans. The total population of this group, excluding the Hawaiian Islands, is nearly a million.

Major Population Areas, Australia and the Pacific Islands

AREA	POLITICAL CONTROL	ESTIMATED POPULATION
Australia	. .	7,000,000
Caroline, Marianas, and Marshall Islands	United States	125,000
Fiji Islands	British	210,000
Hawaii	United States	415,000
Netherlands Indies	. .	70,000,000
New Guinea	Australia	700,000
New Zealand	. .	1,600,000
Papua	Australia	280,000
Philippine Islands		16,250,000
Solomon Islands	British	100,000

SOURCE: *Statistical Yearbook of the League of Nations,* 1939–1940, League of Nations, Geneva.

The Hawaiian Islands, which are politically a territory of the United States, are a "melting pot" of racial and cultural influences and stocks. The native people, Polynesians, have declined in numbers and have been absorbed into other racial groups almost to the vanishing point. Increasingly, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos have come to dominate the islands racially. The cultural range is from the Americanized cities such as Honolulu to the "primitive" native groups on outlying and relatively inaccessible islands. The Hawaiian Islands were independent under their own monarchy until late in the nineteenth century when they voluntarily invited the protection and rule of the United States. They represent, more than other Pacific islands, the meeting place of East and West and the growing Western influence, culturally, in the face of increasing Mongoloid predominance racially.

Significant Trends. Changes of various kinds have come rapidly to most of the Pacific area and were intensified by the Second World War when, first, a large part of it was conquered by Japan, and later by the Americans and their allies. These changes have occurred against a background of longer historical trends which, while closely interrelated, may be considered under three headings: those in population numbers, those in racial composition, and those in cultural characteristics.

For most of the area there was a general decline in population already under way when Europeans first came into contact with the natives, but these contacts greatly increased the rate of population decline. Living near the level of bare subsistence, the native peoples fell prey rapidly to the epidemics of various diseases which were apparently brought by white explorers, navigators, and traders. They also were defenseless against exploitative practices, and their cultures and social systems were rapidly disorganized. The Polynesian peoples especially declined in numbers, and in some cases whole island populations disappeared.

In the past few generations this trend has been reversed. With the birth rate remaining high, the death rate among the natives has begun to decline with resulting rapid increase in population. While the number of some peoples, notably the Polynesians, is still far below what it probably was at the time of the first European contacts, it is climbing back steadily. At the time of the first European contacts, the Polynesians are estimated to have numbered about 1,000,000 and at present there are probably about 300,000, with an equal or greater number of Polynesian mixed bloods. The Micronesians became nearly extinct before their numbers began a renewed increase. The same is true for many of the Melanesian tribes. The greatest recent increase has been among the Malaysians, on some of whose islands the population density is now the world's greatest for areas of comparable size. Their numbers have been growing so rapidly in recent decades as to foreshadow serious problems of food supply.

The trends in racial make-up have been complex. Probably all the Pacific stocks were mixed racially from the earliest historical period, including varying proportions of Mongoloid and Negroid. The proportion of Europeans and Americans among them has never been large except in a few localities, so that the Caucasoid contribution has been small. Much greater has been the continued influx of Chinese with the resulting increase in the proportion of Mongoloid stock in the groups. In most parts of the area the natives, Chinese, and whites remain recognizably distinct racially, and with a growing group of mixed bloods as a fourth distinguishable element.

Culturally, the trend has been gradually toward the absorption of Western ways and ideas. In urban centers and seaports this intrusion has been the most rapid and complete, with a corresponding tendency toward disorganization of the native culture and general breakdown in traditional controls and social organization. In the more remote areas and villages, the older native cultures still dominate the lives of most of the people, although even in the most isolated places there has been some European or American influence. The recent war, of course, brought tightened controls from the outside and more rapid infiltration of technological devices and knowledge from Western civilization; where Americans have remained in occupation, many of these changes have become firmly fixed. There is a strong probability that there will be a slower rate of change in the future except in parts of the Pacific area where strategic considerations make it expedient for Americans to remain in active occupation on a considerable scale.

In the past few generations, the outstanding exceptions to what has been said have been, of course, Australia and New Zealand which have been predominantly Caucasoid and European in culture. Every area, on closer examination, presents some variations and exceptions of its own to any generalizations, so that the understanding of the Pacific area requires more detailed description and study of the component regions.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Australia, one of the British commonwealths, has an area about as great as that of the continental United States, and a population of about 7 million. Its continental size makes for considerable variation in physiography, climate, and modes of life. About half the population lives in a few large cities and towns in the southeastern and eastern extremes, while the western part of the continent is semidesert and has a very sparse population. The northeastern corner has a heavy annual precipitation and is forested with jungle growth. Despite the great urban concentration of population, the economy is mainly extractive and largely agricultural and pastoral.

Nearly all the people are white Europeans, the culture is dominantly Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking, and Protestant. In the urban centers there are some industries, but resources are lacking for great immediate industrial development. The policy of "white Australia" practically prohibits immigration of people of other than Caucasoid descent and, since the rate of natural increase is not large, it is probable that the population will grow but slowly in the future unless there is a change in government policy regarding immigration. The aboriginal people of Australia are usually placed in a distinct racial category.

The Australian aboriginal, or "Blackfellow," is a brown-skinned wide-nosed person of medium height, with black wavy hair, often with prominent bony ridges above the eyes. Though dark-skinned he is not a member of the Negro race. The tribes varied in their ways of life but most of the Blackfellows were hunters and fishermen. They had no agriculture, no domesticated animals except the dingo (a dog, thought to have been brought originally to the continent by primitive man), and no towns or permanent settlements. Their simple weapons included the club, the spear, the throwing stick, and the boomerang. They had marvelous ability as hunters and trackers and were able to find food in desert lands where white men have starved. Even today the aboriginal is used by the police for tracking criminals in the same way a bloodhound is used in the United States. He can see signs that escape white men and is remarkable in his knowledge of bushlore. As a rule he wears no clothing, though the weather is often cold. Although the Blackfellows are considered to be among the world's most primitive people, at the same time they have developed a complex tribal organization with many religious and social ceremonials. In 1940 the native population was recorded as approximately 50,000.[2]

Although there has been a gradual and partial acculturation of the Australian natives to the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture, there has been no assimilation or acceptance of them as an integral part of the general community. The aboriginal people of the island of Tasmania, off the southeastern corner of Australia, were complete casualties to the impact of European culture early in the history of the Anglo-Saxon development of the region.

New Zealand, two large islands southeast of Australia, is in most respects much like the continent. With a population of 1.5 million people who are predominantly Caucasoid and Anglo-Saxon, it has an agricultural and pastoral economy. The principal contrast is found in the type of development of the native people, a Polynesian group known as the Maori. These number nearly 100,000 and had a well-developed culture of their own before contact with the whites. The first results of such contact were tragic for the Maori, who declined in numbers and suffered social disorganization as immediate effects, but they are now a healthy and rapidly growing group. They have become more nearly acculturated into the dominant Anglo-Saxon scheme and have been accepted to a considerable degree into the general political community, although there is but little amalgamation between them and the dominant whites. Like Australia, New Zealand is one of the British commonwealths and has a policy which excludes immigrants of non-Caucasoid stocks. New Zealand has been notable in the world for its extremely low death and infant mortality rates in recent decades.

INDONESIA

Indonesia lies between Australia and the Malay Peninsula, the southeastern tip of the Asiatic continent. Included in the area are a number of densely populated islands, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Celebes, as well as many smaller ones. The islands are rich in a variety of natural resources including rubber, tin, and petroleum, which have strategic and industrial importance in the world economy. This has made of them a focal point in world power politics in recent history and has given them a key importance in the Netherlands Empire. With a total land area of about a half million square miles, they have a population of about 70 million people, which is nearly as large as the population of Japan. Of the 70 million, nearly 50 million live on the one island of Java which has a population density of about 900 persons to the square mile, as compared with densities of about 300 for the most densely populated comparable portions of Europe.

---

[2] Fairfield Osborn (ed.), *The Pacific World,* W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1944, pp. 108–109.

Evidence of the probable antiquity of human habitation in the area is the fossil *Pithecanthropus erectus,* or Java man, found on the island of Java and regarded by many scientists as an example of early progenitors of the human type. It is believed that people of the Australoid type, probably racially and culturally akin to the aboriginal inhabitants of Australia, were the first human dwellers in these islands, but at present the population, though racially mixed, is predominantly Malaysian and Mongoloid.

The East Indies present considerable contrast in culture. In the remote interior of the less accessible islands are primitive peoples living an almost unchanged tribal life; while in a few of the major cities and ports the influence of Western civilization, and especially its typical economic ways and ideologies, are becoming dominant. Most of the people are between the two extremes, slightly acculturated to European ways but clinging still to the main forms of their old village communal life.

> One other point concerning this dualism in colonial society must be mentioned, namely, that the antithesis with which we have been dealing, though it is connected with a difference in attitude toward life and with special social characteristics of different population groups, yet is purely an economic antithesis (pre-capitalism versus capitalism proper) which can be defined only in economic terms. For are there not, besides this particular economic division, a number of other possible classifications of colonial society? We may group it according to race, cultural or religious affinities, social solidarity, local solidarity; according to status or class, national ties, etc., all of which categories may cross and recross one another. In this respect the Netherlands Indies, with its multifarious races, its numerous religions, its wealth of languages, its divergent cultural levels, its many separate islands—presents a much more varied aspect than Western European countries do. Therefore, dividing its society into two economic groups certainly does not mean that the dividing line will be the same, whatever the principle according to which the grouping is done, or that members of any given "economic" group are necessarily also bound by a feeling of solidarity. It may very well happen that the members of economically divergent groups are linked by the strongest and most intimate ties of some other nature—ties of religion, of nationality, of local patriotism, of artistic feeling, of language. It may also be that economically related persons lack every vestige of mutual loyalty; they may even be distinctly hostile—rivals distrusting and shunning one another. It is important for the reader to

grasp this fact thoroughly if he wishes to understand Indonesian nationalism. This nationalism may be either capitalistic, socialistic, or communistic, but is always Western, socialism and communism being also the progeny of capitalism. But even if it is Western, this does not mean that those who are the devotees of nationalism must necessarily feel akin to Western economic society and to the representatives of Western economy in the Indies, since these feelings are determined by entirely different factors originating and resulting in entirely different groupings.[3]

THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippine Islands have a somewhat distinctive history, although their peoples are closely related to those of the East Indies, with a considerable recent influx of Chinese and a lesser number of Europeans and Americans. There are several thousand islands in the group, the major ones being Luzon, where the capital city of Manila is located, and Mindanao, near the southern end of the group. Located 7,000 miles west of San Francisco, and about 700 miles off the coast of Indo-China, they were under American political control from 1898 until 1946 and were for that period the American frontier in the Orient. Prior to their occupation by the United States, the islands were under the political control of Spain, one of the last remnants of the once great Spanish Empire. Previously, they had been invaded by Mohammedans from the Orient, who left their religious and cultural impress among many of the people.

The people of the Philippines present considerable racial and cultural diversity. The total population is about 16 million and may be divided into dozens of groups with distinctive physical characteristics in many cases, speaking a great many dialects and representing various degrees of cultural development and mixture. The earliest inhabitants of the islands were Negritos, a few of whom remain. Several waves of Malaysian people invaded the Philippines in early times, and it is this stock which is racially dominant in the islands today. The last wave of Malaysian immigrants were Mohammedans who had been converted by the Arabs and who are now known as Moros, in distinction to the Christianized inhabitants.

The variety of racial types in the Philippines is indicated in the following: [4]

> Dr. Otley Beyer . . . has estimated that the proportions of different racial strains now represented in the Filipinos are about as follows: Negrito and

---

[3] J. H. Boeke, *The Structure of Netherlands Indian Economy,* Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1942, p. 13.

[4] Felix M. Keesing, *The Philippines, A Nation in the Making,* Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai, 1937, pp. 21–22.

proto-Malay, 10 per cent; Indonesian, 30 per cent; Malayan, 40 per cent; Chinese, 10 per cent; Hindu, 5 per cent; European and American, 3 per cent; and Arab, 2 per cent. The Japanese and Mexican comprise small fractions.

By nature's biological laws such mingling tends to produce, at least for a very long time, a great diversity of physical types. While we can speak of an average Filipino, and construct him in imagination out of the mass of people, we must expect to be constantly surprised at the variety in size, skin color, and physiognomy among Filipinos we meet.

While these peoples occupy in common one archipelago, the nature of the terrain and the difficulties of transportation and communication among islands are such that they have tended to perpetuate some tribal differences. Outside influences have entered increasingly, however, to bring about some cultural homogeneity and even to give rise to a growing spirit of Filipino nationalism.

Such a "common race" will have a "common culture," and of course, "such a common culture will have a major language and other characteristics," as Dr. Emory Bogardus presumed in a letter under date of January 17, 1939. The coming of modern progress has already wiped out a great deal of the border lines between local units of the Filipinos, and the "common culture" is taking form and uniting the people. Their different ideas, customs, folkways, and traditions are focusing into a harmonized whole through the better means of communication and travel, the schools, government offices and agencies, libraries, concert halls, books, newspapers, magazines, and radios. At the same time the motion pictures, tourists, and the trans-Pacific clipper liners are bringing fresh and up-to-date ideas and fashions from the West, which the Filipinos, especially the young, are adopting almost immediately when they arrive there. This "common culture" therefore will be enlightened, dynamic, and aesthetic, since the Filipinos are in constant contact with both Oriental and Occidental influences.[5]

The article from which the above is quoted was written before the war in the Pacific had reached the Philippines, and the war had the effect of disrupting social and economic life of large parts of the islands, but it probably intensified the trends toward unity and cultural change which are depicted. Just previous to the war, the rise of nationalism had been rapid and brought with it increasing demand for Philippine independence, which became an actuality after the end of hostilities. Still under American influence and protection, the Philippine nation is engaged in making its first tentative steps toward the full realization of nationhood, not without difficulties and obstructions, many of which come from the remaining areas of

[5] Alfonso P. Santos, "A Filipino Race in the Making," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 24, 1939, pp. 161–162.

disunity within the population. It will be many years before the full unity which Dr. Bogardus and Santos foresaw becomes a reality.

MELANESIA

The islands which lie to the east of the Philippines and Indonesia, and near the coast of Australia, are usually called Melanesia, and their peoples, Melanesians. They include New Guinea and numerous smaller islands, having a total area of about 400,000 square miles of land surface, equivalent, roughly, to one-eighth the area of the United States. In this large area there are only about 2 million people. They are more homogeneous racially than are those of the island groups already considered but have even greater cultural variety.

Racially, the Melanesians have more Negroid characteristics than do other peoples of the Pacific islands. Two major types are often distinguished in descriptions: the Papuan, or those peoples living closest to Australia, who have marked Australoid characteristics combined with the Negroid; and the Melanesians proper, who lack the Australoid features and are somewhat larger in stature. As one approaches the Philippines, there is also evident some intrusion of Negrito characteristics and, to the west, toward the Indonesian islands, there is a marked intrusion of Malaysian and Mongoloid strains.

The cultural distinctions, including a great variety of languages and dialects, social organizations, and customs, are largely rooted in their tribal groupings and the difficulties of communication among tribes. The people who live on many of the smaller islands and near the seacoast on New Guinea have had a history of fairly continuous contacts with Western European civilization, which have left their imprints upon the native ways. Those on more remote islands and in the interior of New Guinea have had relatively little contact with whites, have never been brought effectively under outside control, and therefore remain more nearly aboriginal in their ways. In fact, little is known of many of these groups. Until the recent Pacific war there were considerable areas of New Guinea's interior which had never been penetrated by whites.

The population trend of the Melanesians appears to have been downward from the time of first European contacts until recently. There are areas where this decline is still in evidence, but it seems that a turning point has been reached since other areas show evidence of a rising rate of growth of population.

Some insight into Melanesian cultural contrasts may be gained from the following brief description: [6]

> Dobu Island lies in the d'Entrecasteaux group off the southern shore of New Guinea. The Dobuans are one of the most southerly of the peoples of northwest Melanesia, a region best known through the many publications of Dr. Branislaw Malinowski on the Trobriand Islands. The two groups of islands lie so near that the people of Dobu sail to the Trobriands on trading expeditions. But they are people of another environment and another temperament. The Trobriands are fertile low-lying islands which provide an easy and bountiful living. The soil is rich and the quiet lagoons full of fish. The Dobuan Islands, on the other hand, are rocky volcanic upcroppings that harbour only scanty pockets of soil and allow little fishing. Population presses hard upon possible resources, even though the tiny scattered villages in their most prosperous days numbered only about twenty-five people and are now cut to half, while the Trobriands' dense population lives at ease in large, closely-set communities. The Dobuans are known to all white recruiters as easy marks in the area. Risking hunger at home, they sign up readily for indentured labor; being used to coarse and scanty fare, the rations they receive as work boys do not cause mutiny among them.
>
> The reputation of the Dobuans in the neighboring islands, however, does not turn on the fact of poverty. They are noted, rather, for their dangerousness. They are said to be magicians who have diabolic power and warriors who halt at no treachery. A couple of generations ago, before white intervention, they were cannibals, and that in an area where many peoples eat no human flesh. They are feared and distrusted by the savages of the islands surrounding them.

MICRONESIA

Micronesia includes a large number of very small islands lying north of Melanesia and the equator, and between the Philippines and Polynesia, further to the east. It is their strategic position which makes them worthy of at least passing notice rather than their area or size of population. The eighty or more islands of the group which are inhabited have a combined land area of about 1,200 square miles, roughly equal to the area of the state of Rhode Island. The population is about 120,000, most of them natives although there are now considerable American garrisons on some of the islands. These natives are tribal groups who have little sense of identity with the inhabitants of other and neighboring islands. The population has recently been increasing after a long period of steady decline in numbers.

---

[6] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1934, pp. 120–121.

On the basis largely of language differences, the Micronesians are locally considered as two groups: the Chamorro and the Kanaka. The Chamorro are chiefly the natives of the important island of Guam, who show evidences of much racial mixture and whose dialects show strong influence of Spanish and Filipino intrusions. The Kanaka are more nearly homogeneous racially and have retained more nearly intact their native ways of speech and life.

The crossroads position of the islands has influenced the history of their outside contacts. They were early under the influence of the Spaniards who then controlled the Philippines, with the result that racially and culturally there are Spanish vestiges, perhaps the chief of the cultural being that of the Roman Catholic religion professed by most of the inhabitants, even when they retain their own aboriginal beliefs and forms of worship. In the western islands of the group, in addition to traces of Spanish and Filipino ancestry, there is also an admixture of the Mongoloid. Some of the islands have long been under British rule. A number were, for a time, under German political control. Following Germany's defeat in the First World War, these islands passed into the control of Japan. The United States has recently been in control of Guam and more recently, since the defeat of Japan, has taken over some of the previously Japanese held islands, as has the Commonwealth of Australia.

The Second World War brought a great cultural impact to the island peoples. Many were moved from their islands to other islands, and all felt, to some extent, the disorganizing effects of war. The results have been largely to accelerate change, with the introduction of the technologies of Western civilization, especially in regard to sanitary and health practices, but there probably have been deeper and more significant results which have yet to be clearly seen and described.

POLYNESIA

Polynesia is a group of islands extending over a large part of the south central Pacific and is closest of the Pacific islands to North America. As previously indicated, it is the area which usually is associated with the term South Pacific and with the romantic lore which has grown up around Pacific peoples. Polynesia includes both New Zealand, already described with Australia, and the Hawaiian Islands. The latter, like New Zealand, are so completely under the dominance of Western civilization that they will be given separate treatment.

The total area of Polynesia is about 100,000 square miles, most of which is included in New Zealand. There the Maori, as previously noted, are the native Polynesian people who have advanced far in acculturation to Western ways.

On the islands between Hawaii and New Zealand there are about 200,000 Polynesians with a relatively homogeneous racial and cultural background. It has already been noted that they probably migrated from Malaysia several thousand years ago. In their present island homes they have become excellent and daring seafarers and have developed a rich culture, marked by general friendliness and smooth community life. They are characteristically a tall, brown-skinned people with wavy black hair, having many characteristics which resemble the Caucasoid, but also some Mongoloid and Negroid. In recent years there has been, on many islands, a considerable admixture with newly arrived Chinese which has tended to increase the proportion of Mongoloid types.

Like the Micronesians, the Polynesians have long been in contact with outside influences from both the East and the West. They are mostly professing Christians even though they retain elements of their native religious beliefs and practices. They have a uniform language which is marked, however, by local variations. Throughout most of modern history they have experienced rapid decline in population, but now appear to be growing at a rapid rate numerically. They are generally credited with having reached an effective accommodation with intrusive cultural influences without giving up the essentials of their native life ways.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

The Hawaiian Islands, because of their somewhat distinctive historical development, racial and cultural situations, and their political status as a territory of the United States, deserve separate consideration. Belonging to the larger area of Polynesia, they have a population of about 70,000 Polynesians, or native Hawaiians, out of a total population of nearly half a million, if those inhabitants who are of mixed blood but mainly Hawaiian are included in the enumeration.

The Hawaiian Islands (earlier called the Sandwich Islands) were discovered by Captain Cook in 1779 and soon became a port of call for the relatively few ships which then sailed the Pacific Ocean. At the time of discovery there are estimated to have been about 300,000 Polynesian people on the islands, with a relatively stable population apparently in balance with the resources accessible to the natives, consisting chiefly of fish and the taro plant. There was a native social organization headed by chiefs who appear to have had considerable benevolent power over the lives of the people.

Soon after 1800 the first missionaries from the United States arrived in the islands and later, with the development of the whaling trade in the Pacific, more and more ships visited the islands and trading with the natives grew. When California began to develop as a western outpost of the United States, trade became more brisk, and there began a plantation system on the islands which survives as a dominant part of their economy to the present time. As early as 1851 the friendly "king" of the islands tried to cede his territory to the United States, but the administration of the United States at that time refused. A few years later other efforts to bring Hawaii under United States political dominion met with strong protests from Great Britain and were abandoned.

The missionaries and traders began the acculturation of the native peoples to Western civilization. The plantation system, as it extended, was decisive in the development of the islands thereafter. The practices which governed the exploitation of native labor tended to break up the native communities, and the flow of labor from farm to urban centers which followed began a rapid process of urbanization. The population of native Hawaiians fell off under the impact of these two trends since their culture did not readily adapt to them at first. In 1852 there was already a shortage of reliable native labor on the plantations and 200 Chinese were brought in by plantation owners to supplement the local supply. This began a long history of importation of workers and a period of economic succession in some ways peculiar to Hawaii. More Chinese were brought in as plantation hands, but as they were able to accumulate from their wages small savings, they moved to towns seeking greater opportunities. To meet the renewed demand for field laborers, Japanese were imported, and later Portuguese, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Spaniards, and Filipinos, and the same movement from plantations to towns and cities continued to drain off the new labor supplies. The result, through time, has been to give the Hawaiian Islands their polyglot population. It is only recently that the descendants of the original Polynesians have begun again to increase in numbers.

Several estimates have been made of the proportions of various racial and ethnic stocks in the Hawaiian population, but because of the confusion of racial, cultural, and national origin terminology, they are clearly revealing in none of these regards. The largest single group on the islands at present is the Japanese, who include from 35 to 40 per cent of the population. Filipinos and Caucasoids, including those of mixed blood, make up from 15 to 20 per cent each. Portuguese, Chinese, and more or less pure descendants of the original Polynesians make up between 5 and 10 per cent each. Culturally, the islands are predominantly Anglo-Saxon, although in the remoter areas there are small groups as yet but little acculturated. Politically the islands are a part of the United States as they have been since 1898.

Since the dominant culture is Anglo-Saxon, it is notable that there is absent in Hawaii the rigid color line as regards amalgamation and other phases of the assimilative process, and both the intermixture of racial groups and the degree of tolerance for a variety of cultural attributes have been noted by many observers and students.

> That relatively few difficulties arose and that racial prejudice did not develop to the same extent in Hawaii as it has in other regions is due in large measure to the relatively small number of immigrants arriving at one time and to the fact that these immigrants were brought in to fill occupations where there was little or no competition. Labor was imported only when the preceding plantation workers had left the plantations for other occupations. The group which had left became semi-skilled and replaced the group ahead of them, which now entered the skilled class or trades. As long as the Hawaiian economy continued to expand, groups of immigrants were able to establish themselves in occupations whose former occupants were moving upward in the social scale. The relation of each immigrant group with others was symbiotic rather than competitive. It was only when the higher levels in the occupational ladder were reached that competition was really felt and some prejudice noticed. Even here, however, the prejudice was limited to informal understandings within the professional and similar groups. It was not likely to be successful in stopping the invasion of immigrants into those occupations because there was no public sanction of race prejudice and no dogma of racial inequality to support such understandings.
>
> One of the main reasons why such racial dogmas did not develop in Hawaii was the almost complete absence of a "poor white" group. Hence the dominant white group did not feel its position threatened by competition until recently, and then only in a few occupations. The position of the white group as financial rulers of the country is unlikely to be questioned for some time to come. In addition, dogmas of racial inequality were difficult to formulate for the second generation because members of all ethnic groups acquired the same culture. All went to English-speaking schools and learned an American way of life and American-Hawaiian traditions. This common background was further advanced by the American-dominated economic interests and by the American radio, newspapers, and motion pictures. In addition Hawaiian culture permits intermarriage between races, this being both cause and effect of the lack of racial dogma.[7]

What may be observed in Hawaii is probably a magnified and intensified picture of the dynamics of racial and cultural relations of the whole Pacific area, allowing for exceptional local variations where, as in Australia and New Zealand, particular policies greatly inhibit both acculturation and assimilation.

---

[7] Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*, 3d ed. Copyright 1948, The Ronald Press Company, New York, pp. 205–206.

How the acculturative and assimilative processes operate at the family and individual levels is suggested in the following: [8]

> In Hawaii the Japanese family system is undergoing changes. Immigration has resulted in the creation of conditions that tend to weaken moral bases of the family. The removal of the immigrants from their family and home communities meant that they left behind all the prestige which went with their family names. They left behind, too, the living symbols of land, house, family cemetery, and the village shrines which constantly reminded them of the love and affection of their illustrious forefathers. The economic system of Hawaii, with its money wages, has tended to undermine family solidarity. The presence of other peoples whose family systems have different moral bases has helped to weaken family sentiment among the Japanese.
>
> In Hawaii the immigrants are individuals and strangers. In the highly mobile and secularized society of Hawaii, the old world family status means practically nothing, and the immigrants are continually faced with the need for a new social recognition based on personal merit. A too frequent reference to their old home family status endangers their social position in the immediate community; it creates a jealous antagonism on the part of those who were of inferior status in Japan. The latter insist that in Hawaii all are equal. Did they not all start life as field laborers? In the course of time as sentiment toward the family name and status waned, the immigrants became less and less concerned about the status of their family in Japan.

PRESENT APPRAISAL

Any over-all view of the peoples of the Pacific islands becomes, necessarily, an oversimplification in which much of the significant detail is lost, since each population, ranging from the relatively large ones of the more populous islands and the continent of Australia to the myriad tribal groups, has its own story and a somewhat different present situation. Yet, to concentrate on the detailed story of each group also loses much of the significance of the over-all picture.

All major races are represented in the Pacific area in varying proportions, and largely mixed, with the predominantly Mongoloid strains seemingly increasing most rapidly both through processes of natural increase and through the intermittent migrations from the Asiatic mainland, and from island to island. The native peoples, mixed racially from very early times, suffered a long period of population decline which had, in some cases, begun before their first contacts with Europeans and Americans but which was greatly augmented by those early cultural impacts. Now these native peoples appear to be increasing quantitatively in most parts of the area and promise in the future to make up a more important racial element of the population. The early Negroid and Negrito racial groups have largely disappeared or have been absorbed by assimilation into mixed groups, in which some of their physical characteristics are still prevalent, as in Melanesia and parts of Micronesia. A variety of European peoples and Americans have entered into the mixed racial streams, and a few, though resident in the area, have remained aloof from intermixture. The exceptions are in Australia and New Zealand where Nordic Caucasoids are numerically the dominant group; and in Hawaii, where they are not majorities but nevertheless are a considerable and important part of the population.

---

[8] Jitsuichi Masuoka, "The Japanese Family in Hawaii," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 21, 1936, pp. 164–165.

Culturally, it has been various European life ways which have been penetrating progressively into the native cultures, and the Anglo-Saxon, specifically, as carried by the English, the Australians, and Americans, which have come into the ascendency, a position which was greatly strengthened by the defeat of Japan in the Pacific war. This cultural ascendency has been a by-product of several interacting factors. It had its start in the trading contacts of early navigators and the missionary efforts of Europeans and Americans; it has been hastened by economic exploitation of the area, principally by European and American interests; and more recently it has had impetus from the striving of various nations for control of the islands of the Pacific area for strategic reasons.

The peoples of the Pacific can now be thought of realistically only in terms of change and process. They are becoming more and more mixed, both racially and culturally, with dominant trends as have been noted above. One of the recent important historical developments has been the rise of a sense of unity here and there, and with it the growth of a spirit of nationalism of the type which stems from Western civilization. This has led to the virtual independence of Australia and New Zealand from European political control; and the more recent independence of the Philippines and dominion status acquired by Indonesia. There are physical and cultural barriers to unity on any larger scale, or even to complete unity within such groups as the Indonesians and Filipinos. All the peoples of the area, despite the achievement here and there of a degree of political autonomy, remain largely subject to forces operating from outside the area and thus will have relatively little to do with the guidance of their own destinies in the foreseeable future. Their previous protective isolation, never complete but long effective in preserving their cultural identities in the past, is now largely gone and will continue to give way to improved transportation and communication facilities.

Issues which arise from the rapid current transition are suggested by one authority: [9]

> If the new social order of the South Seas is to function effectively in the postwar world, the island natives must be encouraged to develop and retain a self-respect and a pride of race which will make possible a complete reorientation. Brown skins are not shameful in themselves, but the native tribes of the Southwest Pacific too often act as though they were ashamed of their color in the presence of white skins. The feeling of inferiority, individually and collectively, must be overcome if there is to be helpful cooperation between the native and white cultures. At an impressive Maori burial service a few miles from Aukland, the writer followed closely the words of a Pakeha speaker, as he eloquently praised the sterling qualities of the deceased Maori chief. Then came as a rude shock the final words of the oration—"Yes, our Maori friend was a true white man at heart, though his skin was brown." The Pakeha had unconsciously expressed an honest and all-prevailing sentiment, and the Maori listeners in turn seemed to accept the judgment as final.

SUMMARY

About 200 million people live on the numerous islands and the single continent of Australia in the Pacific area reaching from the southeastern shores of Asia more than halfway across the Pacific Ocean. Exclusive of Japan, the great concentration of population in the vast area is on a few large islands which lie close to the Asiatic mainland, in Indonesia. South, in Australia, and eastward across the Pacific, the concentration is less. The peoples of these islands and Australia are for the most part descendants of recent migrants from Asia and Europe. The earliest migrants to settle the islands are, in many cases, the present natives. They have had several hundred years of contact with Western civilization which may be considered the decisive fact in understanding their present situation. The first effect of the impact was disastrous, or nearly so, for many groups vanished as functioning societies and the entire native population continued a long quantitative decline. At present, however, there appears to be a general reversal of that trend, and the population of the area, including the natives, is on the increase.

Racially, the native populations included strains of all major races in addition to those of the Australoid and the Negrito. Later, Nordic Caucasoids took over Australia and New Zealand for exclusive occupancy and, except for 200,000 surviving natives in this region, they have made effective a policy of exclusion of non-Caucasoids. Outside of Australia and New Zealand, the Polynesians, a few hundred thousand inhabitants of the most easterly islands, appear to have the largest Caucasoid strain. The Malaysians, by far the most numerous group, inhabiting the islands from Sumatra to the Philippines and northward to include Formosa and Japan, are the most Mongoloid in characteristics. The relatively small number of people in Melanesia and Micronesia, middle groups of islands, are the most Negroid in racial features. Those islands lying closest to Australia seem to reveal a considerable Australoid strain among the natives.

---

[9] William Kirk, "Social Conflict in the South Seas: Australia, New Zealand, and Formosa," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 28, 1944, p. 347.

Culturally, Australia and New Zealand are Anglo-Saxon, and the Anglo-Saxon culture dominates the Hawaiian Islands. Elsewhere the culture is largely tribal, with differences and contrasts even between small groups living in close proximity. Generally speaking, the tribal culture is, by European standards, "backward." The cultural crisis at present lies in the impact of Western civilization, as it has penetrated all parts of the area, upon the tribal life ways. These Western civilization intrusions have increased through time as the previous protective isolation has given way to improved modes of communication and transportation, and as expanding markets have placed a premium upon economic exploitation of the peoples of the area. The effect of the Second World War was greatly to stimulate, at least temporarily, the trends which were already under way.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How do land area and population of Australia and the Pacific islands compare with the United States?
2. What, generally, have been the recent population trends among the native peoples of the Pacific area?
3. What principal racial stocks are found in the Pacific area?
4. Do cultural distinctions follow racial groupings? Explain.
5. What has been the role of the United States in the recent cultural history of the area?
6. What attitudes toward racial mixture prevail in Australia? In Hawaii?
7. How would you account for recent changes in political status of Indonesia? Of the Philippine Islands?
8. Where is Micronesia? What is the importance of this island group?
9. Who are the Australoids? The Maori? The Kanaka?
10. How can you account for the complex racial situation in Hawaii?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Boeke, J. H., *The Structure of the Netherlands East Indian Economy*, Institute of Pacific Relations, Los Angeles, 1942.

FREEMAN, O. E. (ed.), *Geography of the Pacific,* John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1951.

FURNAS, J. C., *Anatomy of Paradise: Hawaii and the Islands of the South Seas,* William Sloane Associates, New York, 1948.

HARDY, OSGOOD, and GLENN S. DUMKE, *A History of the Pacific Area in Modern Times,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1951.

KARIG, WALTER, *The Fortunate Islands: A Pacific Interlude,* Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1948.

KEESING, F. M., *Native Peoples of the Pacific World,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1945.

LING, ANDREW W., *Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1947.

OSBORN, FAIRFIELD (ed.), *The Pacific World,* W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1944.

WINSTEDT, RICHARD, *The Malays: A Cultural History,* Philosophical Library, Inc., New York, 1951.

CHAPTER 8

AFRICA

Of all the major areas of the earth Africa remains most aloof from the main stream of world affairs even though, increasingly in recent decades, portions of the continent have been drawn into its currents. This aloofness is due in part to geographical considerations, in part to historical trends, and also to relative cultural isolation of large portions of the continent. For this reason, in Africa there is an opportunity to study racial and cultural relations without many of the confusions which arise from ideological interpretations such as is found in no other comparable area of the world, although the distinction must be considered as only a relative one.

GENERAL FEATURES

The main considerations in regard to Africa as a continent are that it is the historic home of the Negroid race, and it provides us with an example of scores of millions of people living in tribal cultures which as yet are little affected by the general nationalistic trends of the world. In fact most of the descriptions we have of large parts of Africa are those which treat of the African peoples as interesting in the way that museum exhibits excite attention, because of their strangeness as survivals of the legendary past of man. Only recently have ethnologists penetrated beyond superficial description, and have sociologists become interested in the study of the problems of racial and cultural relations in parts of the continent.

Geography. Africa is a large continent, second in size only to Asia, having a land area of about 11 million square miles. Its greatest dimension from north to south is about 5,000 miles, while the greatest breadth from east to west is approximately 4,600 miles. There is great variety in climate and physiographic features, but the contrasts are not on the scale of those of the continent of Asia. The famous Sahara Desert, stretching across the northern part of Africa, is the world's largest, and smaller deserts occupy other portions of the continent. The Congo and Niger River basins contain the world's greatest jungles, and some of the earth's heaviest rainfall is found on parts of the western coast. The Congo River is second only to the Amazon in the volume of water it discharges into the ocean; the lakes of

East Africa compare with the Great Lakes of North America; and the highest mountains, near these lakes, rise to nearly 20,000 feet.

Most significant for our study are those features of the physiography which have a direct bearing on transportation and communication. The coast of Africa is regular and offers few good harbors, an important factor in the delayed exploitation of the continent. By comparison with other continents, inland waterways available for navigation are few, and those rivers which are large enough for transportation purposes are blocked by rapids and falls. The Sahara Desert has largely prevented development of direct lines of communication from Europe, while jungle growth and inhospitable climate have retarded development of railways and highways in central Africa. The greatest intrusion of Europeans, accompanied by the most systematic technological development, has been from the southern extreme of the continent and has extended but slowly northward.

Population. The population of Africa is about 160 million, or slightly greater than that of the United States, but the average density is considerably less than that of the United States. By best estimates, for there have been no complete censuses of the continent as might be readily understood from what has been said, the native population of Africa was declining in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because of very high death rates, augmented by the social disorganization incident upon the widespread slave trade and intertribal wars. Recently, especially in those parts of Africa which have come under some degree of European control, the death rate has been declining, with an apparent tendency for the native population to increase. There is a small but consistent immigration into various areas which are being colonized, more especially into the Union of South Africa; but this is offset by a steady emigration of native peoples from North Africa—and more especially that part under French control—into Europe. Many grandiose schemes for large-scale colonization have failed, as was recently the case with attempts made by Italy.

> At the time of the Italian census of 1936, 470,000 Italian soldiers and workers were in Italian East Africa. A closer statistical breakdown reveals that in the period 1935–38, 204,000 workers went to East Africa (the largest contingent—40,000—came from Venetia) and 192,000 were repatriated. They could not compete with the local population, since the wages of an Italian worker were 60 lire, whereas the natives worked for 8 or 10 lire. In addition to workers who could not find suitable employment, hundreds of small businessmen returned to Italy. They had gone with the hope of making a fortune

Major Population Areas of Africa

COUNTRY	POLITICAL CONTROL	ESTIMATED POPULATION
Algeria	French	7,490,000
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	British	6,342,000
Angola	Portuguese	3,260,000
Belgian Congo	Belgian	10,329,000
Cameroun	French	2,609,000
Egypt	Independent	16,380,000
Ethiopia	Independent	5,500,000
French Equatorial Africa	French	3,500,000
French West Africa	French	14,800,000
Gold Coast	British	3,450,000
Italian East Africa	Trusteeship	7,600,000
Kenya	British	3,366,000
Liberia	Independent	2,500,000
Madagascar	French	3,900,000
Morocco	French	6,500,000
Mozambique	Portuguese	4,300,000
Nigeria	British	19,725,000
Northern Rhodesia	British	1,400,000
Nyasaland	British	1,676,000
Ruanda-Urandi	Belgian	3,784,000
Sierra Leone	British	1,970,000
Southern Rhodesia	British	1,390,000
Tanganyika Territory	British	5,258,000
Tunis	French	2,700,000
Uganda	British	3,745,000
Union of South Africa	Commonwealth	10,070,000
Others		1,956,000
Total		155,500,000

SOURCE: *League of Nations Year Book, 1939–1940,* League of Nations, Geneva.

in Africa. Most of them returned after having achieved bankruptcy. Among the mass of demobilized soldiers who had at first considered staying in the country after demobilization, only 3,000 remained as colonists. . . .[1]

Generally speaking, the European powers have considered and treated their holdings in Africa as sources and reserves of natural resources to aid in furthering industrial and commercial development at home, and as real or potential outlets for manufactured goods.

---

[1] Eugene M. Kulischer, *Europe on the Move: War and Population Changes, 1917–47,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1948, p. 225.

Races and Cultures. While Africa is chiefly to be regarded as the home of the Negroid race, there are other ancient racial elements to be considered. In North Africa included among the native peoples are two groups: the Semites, closely akin to the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean coast and southwestern Asia; and the Hamites, a somewhat distinctive population, predominantly Caucasoid in characteristics and akin to the Mediterranean subrace, whose representatives are relatively few in numbers. There are, altogether, about 15 million European Caucasoids, recent migrants, found mainly in the Union of South Africa and in the European colonies and dependencies of the African Mediterranean coast. Other scattered small communities of Europeans are found in other parts of Africa, but for most of the continent the European Caucasoid people are so few that from a racial standpoint they are an insignificant element of the population.

There is continuous intercourse between the Asiatic Semitic peoples of southwestern Asia and the similar peoples of northern and northeastern Africa. A considerable population of recent Asiatic origin is found on the island of Madagascar, off the southeastern coast of Africa. For a time there was a steady influx of East Indians into South Africa which was soon stopped by an immigration policy, and this element remains numerically small.

As previously stated, most of the people of Africa still live in tribal cultures little influenced from outside. Western civilization is culturally dominant in other than the strictly political sense in the Union of South Africa and at places along the northern and northeastern coastal fringes. There is a bond of unity among the peoples of the northern coastal fringe which verges at times upon a feeling of nationality, having Mohammedanism as its basis; and the few nationalistic movements which have been strong, as in Egypt, have been closely related to the Moslemic historical development preceding the era of European colonial expansion. The trends are steadily in the direction of greater, although slow, intrusions of European influences in every part of the continent, trends which were somewhat speeded by the Second World War and by the development of air transportation; but any rapid change in this direction awaits the slower development of facilities for surface transportation. In the meantime Africa may still be described as the Dark Continent, from the standpoint of European and American cultural development. The great majority of the people are, by our standards, "backward" and impoverished.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The prehistory of man in Africa is conjectural, even to a greater extent than in Europe and some parts of Asia and the Pacific islands. Protohuman remains have been discovered in some parts of Africa which would indicate that probably true humans were emerging there while Europe was covered with glacial ice. With the retreat of the ice cap there were left several land bridges between Europe and Africa, and Asia and Africa. Probably early in human prehistory Africa was sparsely peopled by pygmies with Negroid characteristics; the ancestors of the present Negro peoples, such as the Bantu, coming from Asia and possibly Europe. These immigrants pushed back the earlier natives gradually to the remote areas which they now occupy along a part of the coastal region of southwest Africa, and in parts of the jungle region of the Congo River Basin.

Early Period. History dawned in Africa with the rise of the Egyptian civilizations, which were among the earliest to appear in the world. These civilizations, coming in chronological sequence, developed among the predominantly Semitic peoples in the lower Nile Valley where it approaches the Mediterranean Sea. Remains of them, such as the pyramids and sphinx, are still tourist attractions of the area. There was a long history of Egyptian civilizations which overlapped the rise and decline of ancient Greek civilization and most of the time span of the Roman Empire.

Early Christianity took hold in the areas of Africa bordering the Mediterranean and Red seas, and left remnants which are found among inhabitants of those areas even now, the largest being found in Abyssinia where Coptic Christians are the controlling group. In about the seventh century A.D., while Europe was immersed in the Dark Ages, the Moslem expansion emanating from Arabia spread across North Africa and left a characteristic Mohammedan stamp which gives some unity to the peoples from Egypt to Morocco today. The Arabs also penetrated, chiefly by way of the Nile River, into central Africa and opened the long period of slave trade, bringing Negroes to Asia Minor and various parts of Europe where they sold them as slaves.

Slavery. Before Columbus discovered America, Portuguese navigators began explorations, which eventually extended to a large part of the coast of Africa, and laid the foundation for the later slave trade which was largely superimposed upon the Arabian beginnings. With the colonizing of America, the slave traffic was rapidly and increasingly oriented toward this continent and came largely into the hands of British and American traders. While millions of slaves were transported to America between 1600 and the middle of the nineteenth century, the number taken out of Africa at any one time was not considerable as compared with the total African population. The slave-trade pattern, however, was devastating to the social organization of African Negroes over large areas and probably played a part in a general decline in African population. A large part of the function of supplying slaves for the market was in the hands of African tribesmen themselves. Along the west coast and the Niger and Congo rivers where there was easy access to the sea, market places were established to which the more warlike tribes would bring captives seized in raids on weaker tribes in the interior jungles.

> In the eighteenth century New England colonies conducted most of the trade, Rhode Island leading the pack.
>
> At trading posts along the slave coast, slavers exchanged rum and other articles for Negroes who had been brought by native slave hunters from the interior. The infirm who were rejected were left to die; those who were crowded into the unsanitary quarters of the slave ship might well meet the same fate during the horrors of the "middle passage." On the average perhaps ten per cent died before arrival in the West Indies or the mainland; the "seasoning time" (about three years) took an added toll of about one-half. In the heyday of the traffic possibly 50,000 a year left African shores. Probably one-tenth of the total were brought to the mainland colonies.[2]

The slave trade was abolished by international agreement in 1833 but continued as a clandestine traffic on a smaller scale thereafter. A League of Nations investigating commission reported as late as 1935 that some traffic in slaves continued in parts of Africa, although it was no longer for export but confined to supplying labor needs locally.

Colonial Partition. In 1871 the partition of Africa, which gives to the map of the continent the lines and colors familiar today, got under way, led by the enterprising Leopold of Belgium who made extensive claims in the Congo Basin. There followed a rapid succession of overlapping and conflicting claims advanced by European powers to large portions of the continent in entire disregard of the desires of native populations except along the northern coast where the people had sufficient cohesion to resist, with some effectiveness, the pressures of European expansion. Because of the chaotic conditions brought on by the claims of the various nations, a conference was called among the European powers in 1883, resulting in the Act of Berlin of that year which set up agreed-upon boundaries to colonial claims. Since then the principal changes in those boundaries came about at the close of the First World War, when Great Britain took over most of Germany's African colonies; and of the Second World War when Italy was stripped of her colonies.

---

[2] Fred W. Wellborn, *The Growth of American Nationality, 1492–1865*, copyright 1943 by The Macmillan Company, New York, p. 69. Used with permission of the publisher.

Recent Period. Discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa led to the rapid development of the Union of South Africa until it reached a position of importance in the British Commonwealth of Nations. While the Union of South Africa has accepted the native population of the area, there has grown up the "white" South Africa policy regarding non-European immigration closely similar to the "white Australia" policy on that continent. This has included the exclusion of all but Nordic Caucasoid immigration, and the subjection of the natives to rigid control under Anglo-Saxon institutional forms.

During the Second World War a part of the fighting took place in North Africa which tended to bring the African continent again into the sphere of world attention. The war was followed by a growing nationalistic feeling in Egypt, since 1922 nominally independent but actually under close British control. This increased nationalism resulted in the further lessening of British domination while the Egyptians became leaders in a widespread but relatively ineffective movement toward unity of the Semitic peoples of northern Africa and southwestern Asia.

Recent years have brought considerable extension of the still meager lines of communication and transportation, and with increasing rapidity the native peoples have been brought into effective contact and under further control of Europeans, even in the least accessible areas. As yet less involved in the turbulent ideological and nationalistic movements prevalent in so much of the rest of the world, the greater part of the African continent remains relatively detached.

MAJOR REGIONS

For a closer and more intensive study of Africa and her peoples, the continent may be considered as several large regions, overlapping but having some distinctions which, for our purposes, aid in analysis. A very crude division of the continent would be into the northern, central, and southern parts. The northern would include the area lying north of the twentieth parallel north of the equator. A larger division, taking in about half the land area and including equatorial Africa, would extend from this line to the tenth parallel south of the equator. The third division would be that lying south of this line and including the island of Madagascar. Equally valid divisions might be made along other lines, and often West and East Africa are considered separately, but the three will suffice for our further description.

Northern Africa. About half the people of northern Africa are concentrated in Egypt, mainly in the lower Nile Valley around Cairo and Alexandria. In Egypt, about 17 million people live in an area of nearly 400,000 square miles, most of which is desert and therefore sparsely populated. Despite close proximity and constant contact with European culture, the land has one of the highest death rates of the world, and with a general decline in that rate, would experience a very rapid population increase. Egypt's location at the mouth of the Nile River in relation to the British Mediterranean "life line," more especially the Suez Canal, has made the country of great strategic importance to the British.

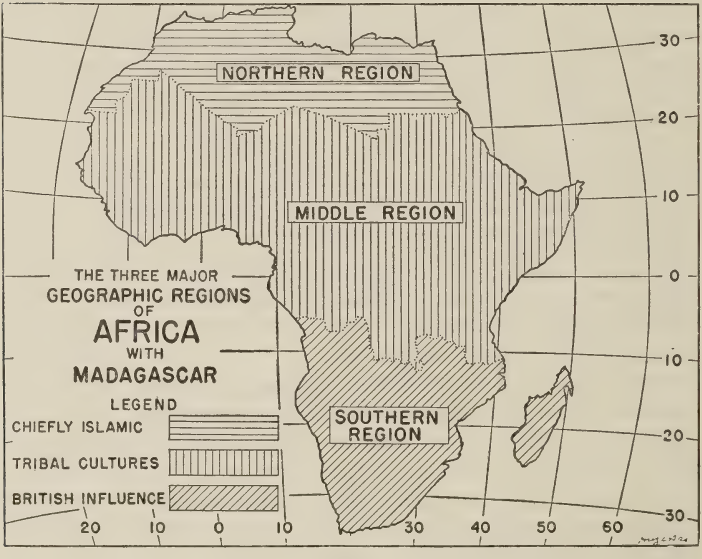
NORTHERN REGION
MIDDLE REGION
SOUTHERN REGION
THE THREE MAJOR
GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS
OF
AFRICA
WITH
MADAGASCAR
LEGEND
CHIEFLY ISLAMIC
TRIBAL CULTURES
BRITISH INFLUENCE
30
20
10
0
10
20
30
20
10
0
10
30
40
50
60

FIG. 3

As previously noted, Egypt has had a long history of indigenous civilizations, whose relics are now principally of antiquarian significance, and such civilization as Egypt now has is intrusive from Europe. The people are a variously mixed racial group. Near the mouth of the Nile, the people are both racially and culturally closely akin to the peoples of southwestern Asia. Further up the Nile they show increasingly Negroid traits similar to those found among the peoples of central Africa. There is a small but influential European population in the cities of Cairo and Alexandria, and the latter city, as an important seaport, has a more mixed population than other parts of Egypt.

While the European influence is prominent in cities, the prevailing Egyptian culture and religious orientation are Mohammedan, and the great majority of the people are "backward" and live in distressing poverty, judged by western European standards, as is true of all the native African peoples. The population presses hard against the limits of available natural resources at the present stage of economic development of the people.

Most of the remaining population of northern Africa lives in the French colonies and protectorates of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunis and is concentrated mostly near the Mediterranean coast. These peoples, while predominantly Mohammedan in religious and cultural characteristics, have, generally speaking, more Negroid characteristics than do the Egyptians, although they include as well the Hamites whose dominant characteristics are Caucasoid. In the three countries, the population is about 16 million, generally poor and technologically retarded. Under French conscription laws, they have served as a fruitful source of military strength for France even though, at times, they have been a source of trouble and drain upon French military resources when they have been stirred by nationalistic feelings. In the absence of rigid color lines and other discriminatory practices, there has been a steady, though not large, stream of migrants from these countries in northern Africa into France.

Other parts of northern Africa, while in their totality constituting a considerable land area, are very sparsely populated. They include the large former Italian colony of Libya, and small Spanish holdings along the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts with small native populations of much the same racial and cultural characteristics as the French colonies.

The geographic position of North Africa is such as to ensure continuous contact with Europe, but somewhat surprisingly it has not become markedly Europeanized. Its position also places the most densely populated portion in close contact with Asia, which fact has done much, historically, to shape the cultural characteristics of the whole region. The important strategic position of northern Africa will undoubtedly make the area of increasing concern in European power rivalries of the future. It has been impossible in the past, as it doubtless will be in the future, to retain the same degree of protective isolation as marks the remainder of the continent.

Central Africa. About half the land area of Africa and three-fifths of the population are located in what is here considered as central Africa. It is the region with the highest proportion and number of Negroid peoples, and other racial elements are so small as to be numerically insignificant although they wield such political control as exists and are increasing their cultural influence with time. While a large part of the Sahara Desert, the lake region, and the most mountainous portion lie in this part of Africa, its most characteristic features are the great jungles of the Congo and Niger basins, where the greatest of its population concentrations are found. Along these two great rivers and their numerous tributaries there are estimated to be about 35 million people, as isolated from outside cultural contacts as are any other people of the world. Some general notion of their character may be had from a brief description: [3]

> The salubrious southern highlands, celebrated for their grass-covered veldt, merge into equatorial Africa, popularly known as the jungle: a tropical and subtropical region with its swamps and dense entanglements, its rank vegetation and teeming animal life, the vivid description of whose crocodiles and cobras has obscured the picture of its human inhabitants. Originally probably occupied by Pygmies, the Congo regions were conquered by the Bantu peoples who for self-preservation unified their various clans into native states ruled by able chiefs. Although depopulated and decimated by the well-organized Arab slave trade from the East and the European slave hunts from the West, firmly established states under powerful, native sovereigns were still in existence there in the 1880's. N'Tolela of San Salvador ruled the lower Congo; Putu Kasongo, the Kuango basin; the Balsabu people dominated a kingdom in Kasai; and powerful kings or chiefs ruled Ruanda and Kivu. This same tropical forest belt continues along the west coast occupied today by disorganized Negro groups with no large-scale central kingdoms, as formerly, before the coming of the white man. Such independent villages under local tribal control are found along the Ivory Coast, in Gabon and in French Guinea, although, today, they have forfeited all their real autonomy and live under alien centralization.

The frequent use of such terms as "state" and "kingdom" often gives somewhat misleading notions of the political development of native peoples, as it probably does in the above description. While necessity did force a degree of unity among tribes in some areas most affected by the slave trade and other exploitative practices, the following is probably a more nearly accurate account: [4]

[3] Mary Evalyn Townsend, *European Colonial Expansion Since 1871*, J. B. Lippincott Company, Inc., Philadelphia, 1941, p. 49.

[4] Kingsley Davis, *Human Society*, copyright 1949 by The Macmillan Company, New York, pp. 481–482. Used with permission of the publisher. Dr. Davis follows closely Gunter Wagner, "The Political Organization of the Bantu," in M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard (eds.), *African Political Systems*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1940.

Let us take for an example two Bantu tribes of Western Kenya, the Logoli and the Vugusa. These tribes, with populations of 45,000 and 40,000, respectively, practice a shifting type of agriculture and cattle raising. Each occupies a continuous stretch of territory and possesses the myth that all members are descended from one remote tribal ancestor. Each is divided into several exogamous, patrilineal clans subdivided into subclans and lineages.

The surprising thing about these clans is that they possess no formal political organization and yet manage to maintain a certain amount of social order and unity. Such political control as exists is largely expressed through the clan rather than through the tribe. The tribe exercises no central authority over the clans in either external or internal affairs. One might infer that the real political unit is the clan rather than the tribe, but the clan does not have a formal political organization any more than the tribe does. The tribe does in many ways function as a social unit. Since the members of the clan must marry outside the clan, but inside the tribe, interclan bonds are established. These bonds, connecting every clan member with his maternal and connubial relatives in other clans, constitute a tribal-wide network so strong and intricate that it operates "as if there were a central authority overruling that of the clan." Furthermore, the cult of a common tribal ancestor and the occurrence of collective sacrifices and circumcision rites create a sense of tribal unity and cooperation. Although the tribe does not act as a political unit against outsiders, its members are more closely tied to one another than to outsiders. In short, the tribe is the largest group that feels as a unit and on certain occasions acts as one, but it is not a complete political unit, for it lacks a political structure and performs its political functions only indirectly, yielding to the clan a more definite role in this regard.

Within central Africa nearly all the territory is divided among the colonial powers who exercise more or less political control and cultural influence within their particular spheres. The area contains two countries, however, which are, at least nominally, independent nations: Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in eastern Africa and Liberia on the western coast. Liberia, because of historical ties with the United States, has been of some special interest in this country, and while having the status of an independent nation in a formal sense, actually is largely under the protection and influence of the United States. On occasions it has been necessary for the United States to exert its prestige to keep Liberia independent and to interfere in the internal affairs of the country to maintain order and keep it financially solvent.

Liberia contains 43,000 square miles, being a little larger than the state of Ohio. It has a population of about 2,500,000, almost entirely Negro. Fewer than one-tenth of the people, but the controlling minority, are descendants of former slaves from the United States, while the remainder are mainly tribal groups some of which wander in and out of the country, and most of whom are but ineffectively controlled and but slightly acculturated to European and American ways. The colony was first established in 1822 as a place for rehabilitating freed American slaves, and in its early history it was clearly demonstrated that an unbridgeable gulf had grown between the cultures of the American Negroes and those of their African kinsmen. The returned slaves, accustomed as they were to poverty and harsh life conditions, nevertheless found circumstances in Africa so far different from those to which they had become accustomed that they had the greatest difficulty in making an adjustment to the African scene. Their mortality rate was exceedingly high and, as opportunity presented, most of them returned to the United States. It took several heartbreaking efforts to get a permanent colony established at Monrovia, now the capital of Liberia, and that colony has not thrived but rather has tended to sink progressively to the level of cultural development of the surrounding peoples, although it has also remained distinct from them. In 1847 the colony gained recognition as an independent nation, under sponsorship of the United States, and since has maintained a precarious existence.

Abyssinia was one portion of Africa which was Christianized early in the Christian era, and it has remained largely a Coptic Christian country while surrounding areas have come under the influence of Mohammedanism. With an area of 350,000 square miles and a population of about 10 million people, Abyssinia has been able to retain her national independence through the period in which Africa was being divided up among the European powers, largely owing to an accident of Great Power politics. Caught in the colonial rivalry between Great Britain and France, each nation barred the other from making effective claims to Abyssinia, and Britain even gave more encouragement to the less dangerous ambitions of Italy in order to offset French pressure. Italy, a late-comer in the African colonial field, met with decisive defeat in 1896 when she attempted to invade Abyssinia by force, the defeat coming from the Ethiopian natives who rallied with some show of unity for the defense of their territory. Frustrated by her failure to gain colonies at the close of the First World War, Italy again, and this time with superior force and armament, invaded and conquered Abyssinia, taking over the area as a colony in 1936. But Italian control was short-lived. Unable to maintain her strength there during the Second World War, she was forced out of Abyssinia which again gained status as an independent nation. This independence remains largely at the mercy of the European powers. Both France and England claim spheres of influence in parts of Abyssinia in which they feel they have primary strategic and other interests.

Racially, less than half the population is of Semitic Abyssinian stock which is closely related to other Semitic peoples elsewhere. The majority are Negroid tribal groups who live in the southern, eastern, and northern border areas. There is little homogeneity except in the central area, most of the country being characterized by a wide variety of languages and social organizations. One railway gives Addis Ababa, the capital and central city, access to the Red Sea to the north, and there is some cultural contact with Egypt in the Upper Nile region, but most of the highlands of Abyssinia are relatively inaccessible to outside influences and forces, and the country is therefore little acculturated to European life ways.

A British-controlled area of several million square miles extends from the southern border of Egypt to the northern borders of Rhodesia in South Africa, including the lake region, the higher mountains, and most of East Africa, a part of which was formerly a portion of the German colonial empire.

In this vast area, numerous political subdivisions variously classed as colonies, protectorates, and mandates under British control are the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Somaliland, and Zanzibar. The whole area contains a population of about 20 million, mostly natives except in the extreme northern part where there is considerable Hamitic mixture. There are numerous tribal cultures, several of which, especially in Uganda, were among the most highly developed (from a European viewpoint) in Africa at the time of earliest European contacts. There have been, especially in Kenya colony, some semblances of nationalistic feeling and movements during recent years, but these have been limited and relatively ineffective.

South Africa. The most Europeanized part of the African continent, and that with the largest proportion of European population, is at the farthest extreme from Europe, the southern tip of Africa. The Union of South Africa, containing an area of nearly a half million square miles, has a population of 10 million, of whom more than a fifth are Europeans, Nordic Caucasoids, while the remainder are nearly all Negroid natives. The Union of South Africa, since 1910 a dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations, is actually more independent than any other country of Africa with the possible exception of Egypt. It is the focus of population concentration, political power, and cultural influence of all British South Africa. In fact, the remaining million square miles, with a population of about 5 million, may well be regarded as a group of appendages to the Union. They include southwest Africa, Bechuanaland, North and South Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, all of which have much lesser proportions of European population, are less densely populated, less technologically developed, and less acculturated.

The relatively favorable climate and physiography, as well as the strategic position on early trade routes between Europe and the East, were in part responsible for the determined colonizing efforts in the area. Discovery of gold and diamonds led to speculative booms which brought in considerable numbers of Europeans. At the time of the partition of Africa, South Africa and, more especially, that part now forming the Union were caught in the rivalry between the colonial ambitions of the Dutch and British. The Dutch had staked the earlier claims, and a population of Boers had started a considerable farming enterprise which was threatened by the increasing incursions of other nationals, especially the British, bent upon greater commercial development of the area. The climax came in the Boer War, 1899 to 1902, costly both in men and money to the British, but securing the present dominant status for the present Union dominion.

There is a variety of situations in which culture contact takes place between the dominant whites and the majority of Negro peoples in South Africa. In the Union there may be distinguished the natives who live on reserves or territories set aside for their use and protection much as Indian reservations are in the United States. There are those who live and work on farms in agricultural areas. And there are those who live in urban centers. Descriptions of these various situations and their implications for acculturation follow: [5]

> The Pondo live in a block of territory in which the only Europeans are administrators, missionaries, traders, and their families. The territory is administered through the European magistrates, but Pondo chiefs and magistrates are recognized, and have limited powers, as local officials. Most of the able bodied men and a few women go to labor centres to earn money to pay taxes and buy the European manufactured goods they desire. Stores owned and kept by European traders are scattered through the country at an average distance of about five miles apart. There are 244 schools, an average of one in every sixteen square miles, and rather more churches than schools. Among the Pondo themselves are two groups, the *amaqaba,* those who smear themselves with red clay, and the *amagqoboka,* those who have been pierced through, that is converted. The groups roughly correspond to pagan and Christian, but with the *amagqoboka* (converts) are included those who after attending school or working for Europeans have retained European clothes, and to

---

[5] Monica Hunter, "Contact between European and Native in South Africa: In Pondoland," in *Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa,* Oxford University Press, New York, for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1938, pp. 11–13.

some extent European ways, irrespective of whether they are or are not church members or adherents. The leaders of the *amagqoboka* group are the native pastors, teachers, clerks, agricultural demonstrators and interpreters. They are influential as disseminators of European culture.

. . . .

Bantu living on European farms are broken up into small groups averaging about a half a dozen families on each farm. Intercourse between families on different farms is discouraged and sometimes prevented by the farmers. There is some visiting and intermarriage between the Bantu on farms and in the reserves, and communication through doctor diviners and herbalists—doctors from the reserves tour farms and sick persons on farms go to consult doctors on the reserves. Some from farms go to work at labor centres, and whether they return again to their homes on farms, or remain permanently in town, they form a link between farm and town communities. The great majority of Bantu on farms have no stake on any reserve, own no land, and are under the control of no chief. All the men, and many of the women and children, are regularly employed as servants. They are thus in close contact with Europeans as masters, and most of them learn some Afrikaans or English, but schools are scarce, mission churches few, and wages insufficient for parents to send their children away to be educated. The activities of farm hands are considerably restricted by their masters. The performance of the customary ritual killings is made difficult or impossible, membership in any church except one controlled by Europeans is forbidden on a number of farms, and membership in a trade union on practically all.

In town we find Bantu living in slums. Practically all are wage earners getting a bare living wage. About half the community are permanent town dwellers, the rest temporary workers coming to town for periods varying from six months to two or three years, and often returning again and again after visiting their homes in the reserves. The Native quarters of the town are administered through a European "location officer." No chiefs or headmen are recognized. The Bantu are segregated into special quarters of the town but come into close contact with Europeans as servants. They go about the European town, buy in European shops, attend European cinemas, watch European horse races and football matches. In East London over 50 per cent of the children between 7 and 16 years of age attend school, and there are 57 sects, nominally Christian, at work in a community of 20,400 souls.

Often noted is the parallel between white-Negro relations in South Africa and those found in portions of the United States South, except that the Negroes make up a large majority of the people in South Africa, and that in the United States there are no reserves for Negroes. There is the same rigid color line, perhaps even more strictly enforced in South Africa, and the same segregation and discrimination patterns. Again it is well to note, however, that the native South African Negroes are in contact with their own native cultures, while there is no such contact for American Negroes.

Thus, in some respects the position of the South African Negroes is like that of the native Amerindians in the American West.

In southwest Africa are found a few remnants of the ancient aboriginal pygmy peoples, locally known as Hottentots, presumably descended from the first humans on the African continent, as has been noted previously. Rapidly declining in numbers, these people keep to themselves in the least accessible areas and live insecure lives at subsistence levels.

A fragment of the once great Portuguese colonial empire is found in Mozambique on the southeastern African Coast, an area of almost entirely Negroid population, much less under the control of Europeans than the British areas of South Africa. Stretching for 240 miles off the coast of southeastern Africa is the great island of Madagascar, one of the world's largest, having a population of about 4 million and governed by France as the result of the resolution of long rivalry between French and British for influence and control over the native monarchy which existed until 1896. The island people differ racially and culturally from those on the nearest part of the African mainland in that its population is compounded of African Negroes, South Pacific Melanesians and Polynesians, Arab Semitics, East Indians, and a small group of Europeans. The various cultures of the island, as a result, are mixtures of all these influences interacting through a considerable period of time.

RESULTS AND TRENDS

Five hundred years of European contacts and a much longer period of Arab penetration have had some effect upon the native peoples of Africa, as has been noted in the description of the various regions of the continent. Still the impact appears to have been less, in most areas, than it has been in other parts of the world where Europeans have extended their influence and political control. The racial and cultural situation remains, comparatively speaking, simple, even though there are some complex aspects. The great majority of African people retain their primitive tribal cultures much as they existed at the time of first contacts with Europeans. These cultures are changing, but change is comparatively slow, although recent developments may have tended to speed them. Even in the Union of South Africa where systematic civilization has been carried furthest, and in Egypt with her long history of civilization, the natives of the hinterland remain essentially aboriginal in their life ways.

Contrasts. On the other hand it is easy to find a bewildering variety of differences and contrasts in Africa. Each major region has its own history and its own problems of racial and cultural contacts. Three countries are independent nations, but by far most of Africa is colonial and dependent. The one dominion of the British Commonwealth on the continent, while nominally tied to Britain, is in fact more independent than are Egypt, Liberia, and Abyssinia, which consider themselves as completely sovereign nations. Within major regions and countries, and even locally, there are contrasts in the degree of acculturation and European penetration into areas of native life.

Historically, the peoples of Africa appear to have passed through the worst period of exploitation from without, with its devastating effects on social organization and culture and its tremendous cost in human life and suffering. It is inconceivable that the excesses of the slave trade and the opening of the Belgian Congo for exploitation will recur on a similar scale, and these may be considered as belonging to the past. The aspects of European culture which bring lower death rates and curb the inroads of disease are being felt almost everywhere, with the result that probably the peoples of Africa are entering a period of population expansion as well as of progressive adoption of Western civilization and its ways. Yet to be reached by most African peoples is the stage in this acculturation in which nationalistic feelings and movements come to play an important part, as has been the case in many parts of Asia and the Pacific islands, such as Indonesia and the Philippines.

Colonial Policies. More than any other continent, Africa is colonial, and thus the destiny of her various peoples, for a time at least, is closely tied to the various colonial policies of European nations. These policies have much in common, including the exploitation of the native peoples, the absorption of the best of their lands, and the exploitation of natural resources largely for the benefit of the European peoples whether resident in Africa or abroad. The colonial policies of all nations change, but there runs through them some degree of consistency in which they differ to some extent from nation to nation.

The colonial policy of Great Britain is flexible as is evidenced by the various types of holdings and spheres of influence which she has in Africa. The dominion status of the Union of South Africa is virtually independence and home rule, while the governing of crown colonies such as Kenya is highly centralized and its policies are dictated abroad. Even though there is this formal contrast, there is much similarity in British control over natives regardless of the type of jurisdiction over particular areas. It is strongly tinged by the British idea that colonial rule is the "white man's burden," intended to protect native peoples and bring them gradually to the benefits of civilization, but always on the firm basis of the color line as a bar both to complete assimilation and equality.

The French colonial policy shows less flexibility in form and involves firm rule through centralized control. There is a definite aim to assimilate native peoples largely through trying to make Frenchmen of them, as nearly as that is practicable. This is reflected in the educational policies in the French colonies where efforts are directed at making natives proficient in the French language and acquainted with French culture. Militarism has been an outstanding aspect of French colonial policy, to bring into the French armed forces through conscription many thousands of native troops who have on occasion been called upon to help defend France and to maintain order in the homeland. The proximity of major French holdings in Africa to France has contributed to the feasibility of such use of native troops, and unfavorable trends in French population apparently have made it necessary in time of crisis.

The Italian policy was much like that of France in many ways, but it also had its distinctions. Probably more tolerant of native peoples and their ways, the Italians were concerned largely with avoiding the outbreak of revolt among the colonial people, and the reins of government were closely held in Italy. In contrast to the French attitude, Italy looked upon colonies as potential outlets for surplus population at home and as frontiers of opportunity for her home people, even though she was not able effectively to use them to these ends.

The German rule in parts of Africa is now a matter chiefly of historical interest, but it has left its mark in areas where for two generations it did prevail. The German rule was more "scientific" and "efficient" than that of other colonial powers, at least in aim. This meant the extension to the colonies of much the same philosophy as has traditionally marked German rule at home—the idea that the individual exists primarily to serve the purposes of the State. Thus the Germans placed the natives under rigid discipline in matters which were of state concern, and militarized the colonies not, as in the case of the French, to add to their own military strength, but to force conformity to German standards in these regards. At the same time the Germans were relatively tolerant in matters of assimilation and did not place a stigma of "going native" on the German colonists who married with natives.

Everywhere in Africa the colonial administrators and military forces have been accompanied or preceded by traders and missionaries, both of which groups have played important parts in such acculturation as has taken place. Traders have been primarily instrumental in bringing to the Africans material culture traits and some aspects of money economy, which at times and places led to excesses in the exploitation of the natives, but in the long run have contributed to the gradual rise in native living standards and the breakdown of intertribal feuds by promoting trade relations. The efforts of the missionaries have resulted in progressive substitution of Christian ideologies and ways for the pagan notions and practices, although the latter apparently survive to a considerable extent even in ostensibly Christian communities. By-products of the missionizing work have been the spread of schools and medical care in areas not yet reached by the more systematic government efforts.

SUMMARY

Africa is the historic home of the Negroid race, but also, since several thousand years ago, it has been the home of considerable populations of Semitic and Hamitic types, especially along the northern fringe of the continent. The northern end of Africa, separated from Europe by the Mediterranean Sea and from Asia by the Red Sea, has long been in contact with European and Asiatic cultural influences. The prevailing Mohammedan religious and cultural orientations of the North Africans go back to the Moslem expansive period during Europe's Dark Ages. At present, the most thorough and systematic intrusion of European culture is at the southern extreme of Africa, where the Union of South Africa, a dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations, dominates a considerable area and population.

Between the northern and southern extremes lie the jungle regions of the Congo and Niger River basins and the lake and mountain areas of East Africa. It is in this great area that most of the Negro population lives and European and Asiatic intrusions have been least, so that the native life ways remain essentially the old native tribal cultures.

Nearly all of Africa is now included in European colonies, protectorates, and mandates and is thus subject to the various colonial policies of these nations. The greatest areas and population are under British political control, that of France, and that of Belgium, while lesser areas are politically under the Portuguese and the Spanish. The Dutch, Germans, and Italians have lost their African possessions in the intra-European rivalries of recent history. The chief interest of the United States has been centered in the relatively small country of Liberia which is under her protection even though technically an independent nation.

In population trends, Africa appears to be on the verge of a considerable natural increase owing to declining death rates as European and American technologies penetrate farther and farther into the interior areas. During the time of the slave trade, first under the Arabs and later under European and American traders, social disorganization was widespread owing to the impact of the traffic, and resultant death rates appear to have been so high that at that time there was a general population decline among native African peoples.

Thus far Africa has remained apart from the main currents of world historical development, relatively speaking. Such accompaniments of the spread of Western civilization as nationalism and major ideological conflicts have not developed sufficiently as to become a major aspect of the general African picture, even though, in exceptional areas such as Egypt, they have recently had a rapid rise. For this reason, largely, Africa presents a clearer picture of race and culture contact, unobscured by other considerations, than do other large areas of the world.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How does Africa compare with other continents in area? In population?
2. What racial groups were found in Africa before European colonization?
3. What factors have contributed to the comparative insulation of native African cultures from outside influence?
4. Describe the spread of Mohammedan influence in Africa historically and geographically.
5. What is the significance of the Union of South Africa in the racial and cultural relations patterns of the continent?
6. Which are the independent sovereign nations of Africa?
7. How have European colonial policies differed?
8. What part have traders played in acculturation of native peoples? What have missionaries contributed?
9. Describe the historic population trends in Africa. What are probable future trends?
10. What has been unique in the history of Liberia?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Fortes, M., and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1940.

Gibbs, Henry, *Twilight in South Africa,* Philosophical Library, New York, 1950.

Hellman, Ellen (ed.), *Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1949.

Kirk, William, "Cultural Patterns of the Zulus," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 35, 1951, pp. 315–330.

MAISEL, A. Q., *Africa, Facts and Forecasts,* Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., New York, 1943.

MAUGHAM, ROBIN, *North Africa Notebook,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1950.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R., and DARYLL FORD (eds.), *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1951.

WAGNER, GUNTER, *The Bantu of North Kavirondo,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1949.

WILSON, GODFREY, *The Analysis of Social Change Based on Observations in Central Africa,* Cambridge University Press, New York, 1945.

CHAPTER 9

EUROPE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE UNDERSTANDING of the present racial and cultural relations in Europe, as elsewhere, resides partly in knowing their historical setting. This must include not only the history in written records, which at best throws light on the past 3,000 years, but also of that part of the human story which came before writing and which is usually called prehistory, for human beings, both as somatic types and as cultural products and carriers, are the results of the entire span of human evolution.

The prehistory of man has been given more attention and intensive study in parts of Europe than elsewhere in the world, and it is on this continent that most of what we know of man's prehuman and earliest human ancestry has been worked out through careful and painstaking examination, sifting, and sorting of fragmentary evidence. Even in Europe such evidence is meager and leaves large gaps to be filled in by speculative theories of which there are many, not always in agreement even on some of their main points. It is well at the outset to appreciate some of the difficulties which confront those who study early human and prehistoric remains, both somatic and cultural. Only the more durable of man's handiworks have survived to reveal their story to modern students, and only under exceptional and favorable circumstances have human skeletal remains been preserved. The further back in time one goes, the greater such difficulties are, and in the prehuman and earliest human periods the tools and weapons of man differed so little from natural phenomena that they require expert knowledge for recognition. Then, too, in the absence of written records, the meaning of what is found here and there must be surmised without sure guides. Some of these difficulties and their results become apparent in looking back at early overfacile theories of pioneer prehistorians, as pointed out by Robert H. Lowie: [1]

> What the evolutionists as a class failed to see was the limited range of cultural facts for which progress could be directly demonstrated. Prehistory reveals only material phenomena and only part of them. Only under exceptionally favorable circumstances of preservation can it teach anything about

---

[1] *The History of Ethnological Theory,* Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1937, pp. 22–23.

> even such tangible but perishable objects as bows and basketry. In short, it determines accurately certain phases of technology and nothing else. A picture derived solely from archaeological sites is often grotesquely distorted; the most skillful wood-carvers and bark cloth weavers, leaving little evidence of their craftsmanship, must suffer in comparison with potters and metallurgists.
>
> A mechanical transfer of the prehistoric categories in vogue fifty years ago is thus fatal even for sound appraisal of technical progress. It is true enough that all metal-working groups passed through a pre-metallic stage, but it does not follow that all peoples without metals make stone tools. As Von den Steinen insisted, many South American natives find this impossible for lack of stone. In order, then, to apply the concept "Stone Age" here, we must divest it of its original meaning and make it include bone, shell, wood, and the like. Again, the separation into a Paleolithic and Neolithic period can be kept useful only if we completely alter the primary senses of these terms. Some Australians merely chip stones, their neighbors not otherwise a bit more advanced grind axes because they have access to diorite; the difference implies only a difference in material resources, hence it cannot serve as a major line of demarcation. In order to infuse significance into the term, investigators have perforce redefined "Neolithic" to indicate primarily the status of potters and farmers. Thus, prehistory, instead of being an infallible guide, required correction and conceptual purging by ethnological treatment.

Despite the problems and difficulties involved, it has been possible to gain considerable knowledge of man's long past and slow cultural development from preserved remains. They provide a time perspective which could have been gained in no other way, tell us much about the gradual stages by which the first feeble steps toward civilization were taken, and suggest something about the origins of modern peoples. As previously stated, most of the work that has been done has been in Europe by European scholars and has not escaped an ethnocentric bias in which there is usually the unstated assumption that Europe through the ages has been the center of the human and protohuman universe. Increasingly, however, it has been possible to apply checks to this type of thinking as more and more remains have been found in other parts of the world—Asia, Africa, Oceania, and the Americas.

TIME PERSPECTIVE

While numerous rough chronologies in terms of years and thousands of years have been undertaken, they can be accepted only as the roughest kinds of indications of elapsed time up until the time when a few peoples here and there began the use of calendars, which is very recently in comparison with the time spans which went before. The perspective of man on this earth requires two scales of sequence: one geological, the other prehistoric. Of all the eras marked off on the geological scale, only the most recent are pertinent for our study, but they carry us back 100,000 or more years to earliest indications of late prehuman types. The two scales can be coordinated where human remains are found in datable geological strata. The earliest stone implements which show some efforts at deliberate design and therefore may be considered cultural, appear to date from the Pliocene geological period. Such finds are few, but they are definitely established as showing crude material cultural beginnings among prehuman types which were at the threshold of humanity.

Prehumans of Europe. While crude stone implements have been dated back to the Pliocene era, somatic remains of prehuman types have been found in geologic strata belonging to the Pleistocene, or early Quaternary, and with them have been found slightly improved stone implements. This was before the Ice Age during which most of Europe was covered by glaciers which advanced and receded over a period of tens of thousands of years. During this time the nearly human animals, like other kinds of animal life, advanced and retreated with the ice cap or perished in the violent climatic changes. It is near the end of the Ice Age that parts of Europe apparently were peopled by Neanderthal man, a prehuman type so close to humanity that he becomes the starting point, presumably, for the continuous story of early cultural development. Most of the early Neanderthal remains have been found in northern France and Belgium, but rare examples have been discovered elsewhere on the continent and on other continents.

> At the end of the Ice Age, at the latest during the last temperate interval, a sudden change came about and the ape-man entered upon the road to civilization; he mastered the elements and was soon victoriously defying the rigours of the final ice period. In the Marne district (Chelles) and the neighboring regions of Western and Central Europe an unique race of men sprang up (doubtless by racial mixture among ape-men and subsequent isolation) whom we may call "Neanderthal Man" after the place where they were first discovered, the Neander Valley near Düsseldorf. Neanderthal man must have been very brute-like in appearance. He was short (1.55 to 1.58 metres in height), thick-set, and hairy, he could not straighten his knees or his back, and his face was dominated by the massive projecting jaw (with no chin), above which was a flat, broad nose; over his eyes was a thick brow-ridge of bone, the lower edge of a receding, narrow forehead; but his cranial capacity was some 1,400 cubic centimetres (the present-day gorilla has only 500 cubic centimetres, the Australian aborigines 1,340, the European, 1,550), and he was the creator of the earliest human civilization.
>
> Suddenly the eoliths of Northern France were improved upon, after remaining the same for many thousands of years; Neanderthal man showed purpose and craftsmanship in making an instrument of general usefulness, the *coup de*

poing (first found at Chelles on the Marne) from a piece of flint, chipping it to an almond shape, the broad butt was made to fit the hand, and the faces sloped evenly to a broad blade and a point on the cutting side. Man had become an artist, moulding his material with deliberate aim; he struck out in all directions; he was the ancestor of the ingenious smith of the Metal Age. To his capacity for thought and craftsmanship we may attribute the second great achievement of this primitive civilization: the conscious mastery of the animal terror of fire, the conscious subjugation of fire to man's will. Ape-man may, indeed, have warmed himself occasionally at the ashes left by a chance forest fire or lightning flash: now he learned to maintain fires and use them for protection against beasts of prey, for night hunting, and to warm himself.[2]

First Humans. The earliest of the ape men who belonged to the Pliocene geological era are usually referred to as Eolithic, or Dawn men, while the Neanderthal man ushered in the long Paleolithic period, or that of the Old Stone Age. This age lasted tens of thousands of years, or many times as long as what is generally referred to as modern history. It was characterized by extremely slow and uneven cultural development, judging by its material remains. Late in this period there appeared upon the scene a new physical type, the Cro-Magnon man, to take the place of Neanderthal man in parts of Europe, and the development of what appear to be much more elaborate cultures in which sculpture, painting, and religion were introduced. As Schneider says: [3]

> This step forward is the outcome of the first racial mixture amongst men of which we have any knowledge. The Neanderthal race spread from the Marne district to southern France, where, in the Garonne district (the Vezère Valley, Dardogne), they met another race (or several), Aurignacian man (who, indeed, may be himself a product of cross-breeding or subdivision). Aurignacian man was little taller than Neanderthal man (1.60 metres), nor was his cranial capacity larger (1,400 cubic centimetres), but his appearance was far less brutish. His forehead was higher and broader, his brow-ridge was less prominent, the strong jaw no longer a muzzle; the limbs were longer and the trunk relatively shorter. We are not concerned to distinguish the cultural acquisitions of the two races; they devoured one another and interbred; a Neanderthal man (Mousterian) and an Aurignacian were found in the same cave buried in the same fashion. The advance in civilization was the outcome of their interbreeding. The new race which finally emerged was first discovered at Cro-Magnon and so is called the Cro-Magnon race; it has traits of both parent races; but is taller (in a few cases 2 metres in height), with a long, narrow skull, a fine forehead, a thin nose, a more developed chin, and a cranial capacity of 1,500 cubic centimetres. Whilst this race was evolving, the artists

---

[2] Herman Schneider, "The History of World Civilization," from *Prehistoric Times to the Middle Ages*, translated by Margaret M. Green, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., London, 1931, Vol. I, p. 5.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

of the Old Stone Age cave paintings came upon the scene, besides the framers of the earliest religious conceptions, and some of the ancestors of civilized races of today in all parts of the world.

So near was the apparent resemblance of the Cro-Magnon man to man as we know him today that he may be considered the first truly human type. His remains give us an important clue, especially for the purposes of time perspective, but they do not tell the complete story of either the racial or the cultural evolution of man. His earliest appearance may have been 25,000 or more years ago, and it must be presumed that other human stocks were evolving elsewhere at about the same time. By the time the Neolithic cultures were appearing, some 10,000 or more years ago, there were distinctly human beings living in various parts of Europe and elsewhere in the world. There is some evidence in France and Spain that the Neolithic culture evolved step by step from the Paleolithic with no sharp break between the two. At about 6000 B.C., there was a center of Neolithic culture in Jutland in the north of Europe, and others in the Danube Basin and in Switzerland. One theory holds that the northern group may have been ancestors of the Nordic subrace, while those of the Danube region may have been progenitors of the Alpine peoples. Presumably the Cro-Magnon stock near where the first remains were found became ancestors of the Mediterranean subrace, thus accounting for the three main branches of one of the great racial families of man, the Caucasoid; but it must be borne in mind that such relationships are conjectural and that opinions differ regarding them.

The term Neolithic was first applied to cultures which had ground and polished stone tools, as indicated by the meaning of the term, New Stone Age. In later usage, as previously indicated, it became associated, rather, with the cultures of peoples who practiced agriculture and had developed the art of pottery making. Neolithic cultures are generally assumed to have been richer and more varied than those possessed by peoples living in the Old Stone Age, but it must be remembered that such assumptions are based upon a very limited range of evidence and that we know practically nothing of the social organizations and other kinds of possible nonmaterial cultural developments of most Paleolithic peoples. What can be said with certainty is that, in Europe, we know more of Neolithic man than of Paleolithic because the remains are more profuse and varied, which may be mainly due to the fact that they have been buried for a much shorter period of time.

Principal among the remains of the Neolithic period in Europe which have been unearthed and studied have been the sites of Lake Dwellers in

Switzerland and northern Italy, who built relatively permanent communities on piles driven into the shallow bottoms of lakes near the shores; and the *terramare,* or walled villages, constructed on mounds, found in northern Italy. The relatively fixed communities and substantial construction are distinguishing features of the Neolithic period and throw light on the advances which must have been made in social organization and stability.

Both available evidence and logic support the assumption that in the Neolithic period the population of Europe was more generally distributed and much larger than in the previous long eras. As some writers have noted, it may well have been a period of local population pressures against available resources, with resultant migrations out of Europe to the Near East and Africa. Overlapping the Paleolithic and Neolithic eras, there appears to have been a period of megalithic cultural development in various parts of Europe and elsewhere in the world, during which huge single stones, megalithic circles, and crude stone arches were erected, presumably in connection with some cult of the dead. The best known of the monuments of this period is probably that of Stonehenge in England. Their true meaning remains something of a puzzle to students of human cultural evolution. Megalithic remains have been found in such widely separated parts of Europe as Spain, France, Sweden, and Greece, as well as in England.

In Europe the Neolithic cultures in some areas gave way, long before the beginning of recorded history, to a Bronze Age in which metal tools and weapons first came into use, a period which had its most remarkable European development among the Norsemen of Scandinavia. The Bronze Age, in turn, gave way to the Iron Age, in which the harder metals were brought into human service. The succession and developments were not uniform but showed regional and local differences. Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Age peoples lived on the continent, side by side, at the time that the first historical records bring them more clearly into focus.

Characteristics of some of the late Paleolithic and many Neolithic peoples seem to have been the use of crude hieroglyphics, apparently the forerunners of systematic written language, which appear to have ushered in a period of much more rapid cultural transmission and development. Until early written language came into use cultural developments came with almost unbelievable slowness when judged by modern standards; but soon after there began the rapid rise of the earliest true civilizations with cities, extensive division of labor, well-developed arts and crafts in great variety, and elaborate schemes of social organization and controls.

EARLY CIVILIZATION

About 3000 B.C. Neolithic peoples descended into the Tigris and Euphrates valleys of southwestern Asia. There they developed agriculture on an extensive scale with the aid of irrigation, population grew, and cities were built. At about the same period a mixture of peoples was developing another civilization in the lower valley of the Nile River. Both of these cultural developments were to enter more or less directly into the formation of Western civilization, of which the Neolithic peoples of Europe and their descendants were destined to become a part. It is to be noted in connection with the more purely European interpretation of prehistory that the first great civilizations developed outside of Europe, which may well mean that the processes of human cultural evolution which are better known to us from European discoveries and studies advanced independently and even more rapidly outside the continent. These early civilizations had systematic writing and kept records, large segments of which are still available for study. Concerning the racial origins of their builders, little can be said except that in both Babylonia and Egypt the peoples were mixed, combinations of several stocks, at the time when history first encounters them. In neither case were they clearly or distinctively European types, although there is evidence which might indicate that European strains were present in their composition.

The first European civilization developed on the island of Crete following an invasion of the island of a people presumably from the Danube Basin, probably about 2500 B.C. Over a period of approximately 1,200 years, this civilization evolved and flowered before the people declined again into a state of barbarism. This Cretan civilization had its seeds in those of both Babylonia and Egypt, and during its latter years had continuous contact with the Egyptians. The names most commonly used to identify it are Aegean and Minoan, and its characteristic trade wares have been found widely scattered, from the coast of Sicily to Syria. In fact, the Aegean civilization at its height had outposts on the coast of Asia Minor, in various of the Aegean Islands, and on the mainland of Greece.

Greek Civilization. During the second millennium B.C., there appear to have been successive invasions of the Aegean area and other parts of the Mediterranean coast from the north, probably by peoples coming from the Danube Basin. The mixture of these invading peoples with those already living in the southern parts of Europe probably laid the foundations for the later Italian and Greek populations among whom arose the great civilizations of Greece and Rome. The effects were first felt in the eastern Mediterranean area where the earlier Minoan civilization was overwhelmed, but its remnants supplied the basis for development of the later civilization centering in the Greek city-states, more especially in Athens. This civilization had a rapid rise between 700 and 400 B.C., as it blossomed into the rounded cultural development of classical Greece, with its political genius, military and naval strength, extensive trade, arts, philosophy, poetry, and rudimentary science. These have been so often and completely described that only brief reference is necessary here. They mark the true starting point of what is referred to as Western civilization.

Through conquest, trade, and colonization, the early Greeks became culturally dominant throughout the eastern Mediterranean and established outposts in the western Mediterranean. Their influence penetrated far into Asia Minor, Egypt, and Italy, and in the latter area contributed to the rise of Roman culture which was to succeed the Greek as the dominant civilization of the European continent.

While the culture of the Greek city-states was flowering, other more or less independent cultures were developing, although they did not reach the same heights. Among them were those of the Phoenicians in Asia Minor, and Carthage in northern Africa, both strongly influenced by the Greek; there was the Etruscan in Italy, and the Gallic in Europe west of the Rhine. By this time the mobility of peoples had vastly increased, and in each case the cultural developments were among peoples of mixed descent; and each resulted, in part, from the cross-fertilization of various cultural elements.

The culture of the Greek city-states was gradually succeeded by the Hellenic, basically derived from the Greek, which was then showing some decadence from the great days of Athenian ascendency. The Hellenic was much more cosmopolitan in character than its predecessor cultural development in the Greek city-states. It became widely spread throughout the Mediterranean Basin and in turn merged into the Graeco-Roman culture of the last years of the pre-Christian era and the first centuries of the early Christian period.

The Roman Empire. The story of Rome, like that of early Greece, is well known. First extending its hegemony over Italy, then to Carthage, finally over the entire Mediterranean world and northward into Gaul and Britain, the Roman Empire came to include the "known world" of European civilized peoples. It was largely a military and legalistic culture with most of its attributes adopted from the Hellenic civilization. Rome's own principal contributions were a highly developed governmental system and greatly improved networks of communication and transportation which bound its domain into a tighter unit than had been possible under previous loosely organized and held "empires."

The rise of the Graeco-Roman civilization brings us well into the period of recorded history, at least as far as the chief European cultural centers are concerned. Our knowledge of this civilization also reveals many of the institutions and ideologies which were compounded into Western civilization. The records, especially from the period of the height of the Roman Empire, also give us revealing glimpses of the then barbarian peoples of central and northern Europe. Among these peoples it seems that, by comparison, cultural evolution had progressed slowly, and as yet they had no written records. The impetus leading to the development of early civilizations did not come from Europe, but rather from outside. Their foundations were laid in Egypt and southwestern Asia.

Such outside influences continued to play an important part in later European cultural history. From the Jewish people of Palestine came the beginnings of the Christian religion which was to become the religion of Europe and Western civilization, as well as a dominant social force in Europe from two centers, Rome in the west and Byzantium (Constantinople) in the east. In the west it became Roman Catholicism, and in the east Orthodox Catholicism. The Roman Church came to dominate religious, political, and social orders in the west, while the Orthodox Church came to ascendency in Greece, the Balkans, and Russia.

A second wave of outside cultural stimulation came to Europe with the expansions of the Moslems during Europe's Dark Ages following the fall of the Roman Empire, when Mohammedans, spurred by religious zeal, extended their sway across northern Africa and through Spain well into Europe, and through the Balkans far up the Danube. This invasion was stopped by Charlemagne in the eighth century A.D., but the Moslem influence persisted in Spain and the Balkans for many more centuries and gave rise in Spain to a renaissance in learning and the arts.

The Roman Empire had fallen in the fourth century A.D. before the increasing pressure of barbarians from Gaul, who, in turn, were apparently being driven by waves of invaders from eastern Europe and Asia. A bewildering array of peoples were making their way into various parts of Europe, some coming from other European areas, others seemingly from Asiatic sources. Accounts of the period are neither accurate nor clear in their designation of racial or cultural types, but the total result of the migrations was to give to Europe its present patchwork of somatic types and cultural-linguistic backgrounds.

Indo-European Hypothesis. Various efforts have been made to simplify the relationships among the profusion of cultures and mixed racial types which developed on the European continent, from the earliest times to the beginnings of modern history. Among them is the so-called Indo-European hypothesis, described by one writer: [4]

> Such languages as Sanskrit, Iranian, Persian and Armenian in Asia, and Greek, Latin, Romance, Teutonic, Celtic, and Slavic in Europe, have common characteristics and seem to form one of the most widespread systems of human speech, differing from Semitic and other groups. In structure and inflections Sanskrit is remarkably similar to Latin and Greek. Often the same word can be traced to several Indo-European languages; for example, seven is *septem* in Latin, *hepta* in Greek, *hapta* in Iranian, and *sapta* in Sanskrit. In the second millennium these languages appear to have been spread by migration and invasion all the way from Italy to India. There has been a great deal of not very profitable speculation as to the parent people and original homeland from which the first, simplest form of Indo-European speech was spread abroad. It has been held that from those words which can be shown to be common to the various Indo-European languages in their earliest known forms we can reconstitute to some extent the vocabulary of the parent language or people, and from it infer the stage of civilization which then prevailed,—for example, that the horse, ox, sheep, dog, and pig were domesticated and that grain was grown. In short, life was not exclusively nomadic, but a combination of pastoral and agricultural economy requiring plain and upland in close contact. Hence, one of the latest suggestions as to the homeland of Indo-European speech is the Hungarian plain and the adjoining areas of Austria and Bohemia. But the peoples who speak Indo-European languages are no longer at least one in race and physical appearance, and it is only the spread of languages that we can trace, not of race or of a civilization. The term, Aryan, is strictly speaking applicable only to the white invaders of India, who used the term to distinguish themselves from the black natives. In the last century what seemed striking resemblances between the myths and customs of different Indo-European peoples were noted, but more recent study of other peoples has shown that many of the myths and customs are even more widespread and so cannot safely be classed as specifically Indo-European. The Indo-European languages first brought with them destruction rather than civilization. But they early were marked by great bodies of literature.

The Middle Ages. Under the domination of the Roman Empire, Europe was divided into two areas: the one, that part which was effectively within the Empire, the other, that which lay outside. The first included the areas around the Mediterranean, the portion lying west of the Rhine, and a large part of the British Islands. The part outside the Empire was east of the

---

[4] Lynn Thorndike, *A Short History of Civilization,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1929, 5th printing, pp. 78–79.

Rhine and was peopled by "barbarians" who were looked upon as warlike, restless, and resistant to Roman influence. Of them, one writer in describing the period of the fall of Rome, says: [5]

> The way was prepared for the transformation of Europe by the entrance into the empire of a number of barbarian peoples, followed by a general shifting of the peoples in that part of Europe which had remained barbarian. These peoples differed from one another in origin, language, and mode of life. Some were nomads, but belonged to the yellow race coming from the plains of Asia. The peoples who replenished the populations of Europe all belonged to white and settled races and spoke the Indo-European languages belonging to two different groups: the Germanic languages in the west and the Slav languages in the east. The custom has grown up of calling peoples by the name of their language, the former peoples being known as Germans and the latter as Slavs; but neither the Germans nor the Slavs constituted races in the anthropological sense of the word—that is, a species of mankind representing the same physical characteristics. They were collections of men of different types having in common their language and customs and the idea that they were of common descent; this is why they are called by the same name.

As the Romans extended their contacts before the fall of the Empire, and increasingly thereafter, the history of European peoples becomes complicated by the multiplicity of names—Vandals, Burgundians, Goths, Visigoths, Normans, Franks, Angles, Saxons, and numerous others. Some are designations for small tribal groups, others for embryonic "kingdoms," and still others presumably indicate larger subracial groups. Actually, these names have little value in revealing the racial or cultural characteristics of the peoples, except that they emphasize the general complexity and confusion in these regards.

From the fall of the Roman Empire until the eighth century there was general disorder throughout Europe, which gave way in part to a temporary stabilization in the west when the king of the Franks joined in alliance with the Pope to establish a kind of extended joint authority. It was in connection with the restoration of this partial order that the name of Charlemagne came into history, and his descendants, in the same type of alliance, established the Holy Roman Empire. Actually, the chief authority from the ninth to the eleventh century was becoming that of the local landowners with the rise of the feudal system.

The Middle Ages proper had their beginning between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries and were marked, among other things, by the Crusades, which brought Europe into renewed contacts with non-European cultures.

---

[5] Charles Seignobos, *The Rise of European Civilization,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1938, p. 63.

It has seemed natural to ascribe to the Crusades all the new customs and things which appeared in Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But the Christians of Europe were in touch with all the Moslem lands of the Mediterranean: Spain, Sicily, Africa, and Egypt. It is hard to distinguish between what came from these lands and what was brought home by the crusaders. From the Holy Land undoubtedly came the customs of warfare, the lance with its pennon, the cross-bow, drum, and trumpet, and the device of armorial bearings as marks distinguishing one family from another; for the French names for colours, some of which are also used in English, are of Eastern origin (gueule, English gules, being Arabic, azur, English azure, being Persian, and sinople, English vert, Greek). The apricot, watermelon, and shallot also seem to have come from the Holy Land. The Crusades started the vogue for wearing beards in the Oriental fashion, instead of shaving them off, as was done by the Romans and Franks.

Far more questionable are the indirect effects upon the political and social life of Europe which some have tried to attribute to the Crusades; the growth of royal power, the grant of charters to the communes, the enfranchisement of the serfs, the decay of feudalism, the decline of piety (through contact with the Moslems), and even the flourishing of epic poetry.[6]

The great movements which characterized the transition from the Middle Ages to modern European history were the Renaissance and the Reformation. Having their principal beginnings in the fifteenth century their developments and general effects on all aspects of social organization and thinking have been fully recorded and are well known.

Expansive Period. Just as the Middle Ages in Europe were marked first by invasions and cultural pressures from outside the continent, which had much to do with the revival of learning and the present distribution of ethnic types, so the following era was characterized by the beginning of a new period of expansion during which Western civilization was to come to dominate the entire world. It is to this period that we belong. It started with the Crusades of the tenth and eleventh centuries, but greatly increased in momentum with the voyages of discovery of the late fifteenth century. First, the Spanish and Portuguese began conquest and colonization in the Americas, India, and other parts of the world distant from Europe. They carried with them imperial rule and the Roman Catholic religion. With the decline of Spain as a sea power, Britain took the lead and laid the foundations for the British Empire, sharing ascendency briefly with France. Later developments were vast European migrations which took tens of millions of Europeans to the Americas in the nineteenth century, and the partition of the African continent among colonial powers as previously described. In this expansion, dominated by northern and western

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132.

Europeans until the end of the nineteenth century, some 60 million people migrated from Europe to become the ancestry of large populations in the Americas, Australia and New Zealand, South Africa, and in portions of the Pacific Basin. They carried with them Western civilization as it had evolved out of the Graeco-Roman, modified by Christianity, and such newer ideologies as nationalism and industrialism.

Toward the close of the nineteenth century, eastern Europeans increasingly entered into the expansive movement. They came to dominate the migrations to the United States and moved eastward into Asiatic Russia. With the exception of the movement into Siberia, these great migrations have now slowed and all but ceased, and the population pressures behind them have been somewhat relieved in parts of Europe by declining rates of natural increase, as is notably true of the British Islands, France, and Scandinavia. The cultural expansion continues, however, for even such ideologies as those of Marxism and communism are European in origin. So is the type of nationalism which in various parts of the world, as previously noted, has become an obstacle to European political control and domination over non-European peoples.

THE JEWS

Because they were destined to play an important role in the racial and cultural relations on the European continent, the Jews need special consideration, even though numerically they did not at any time make up a major portion of the European population. Their beginnings and development as a people lay outside Europe, chiefly in Palestine, on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. The early formation of an identifiable Jewish people was a part of the great restless and confusing movement of Semitic tribes throughout Asia Minor in the latter part of the second millennium, B.C. At that time the area now known as Palestine and the homeland of the Jews was under Egyptian domination. That there was a considerable intermixture of peoples, often considered as "races" or "nations," but actually little more than tribes and loose federations of tribes, is evident. One typical description of the "racial" background of the Jews follows: [7]

> The races, therefore, whose interbreeding may be the basis of the "kingdom of Judah" are as follows: the tribe of Judah, which gave its name to the kingdom and the people, and was certainly Aramaic, and other Aramaic tribes who pushed into the land about 1300; also the indigenous population of town and country, the offspring of earlier racial mixtures, near Jerusalem and further south; they spoke a Canaanite-Semitic dialect and provided the language of

---

[7] Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 229, 240.

the new Judaic civilization (a Hyksos dialect crossed with northern elements); finally the Hittites and Egyptians, the former an important element especially in Jerusalem, the latter probably few in number (some would be mercenaries. Shardana, etc.). On the other hand there was hardly any Philistine blood in the mixed race; the Philistines made their appearance at a late date and stayed for the most part on the plains.

. . . .

About this time the vitality of the first Judaic racial mixture was exhausted. It had given birth to the great prophets of the first cultural flowering period (Amos and Isaiah) and the revolutionary period (Jeremiah and Ezekiel), besides a number of nameless poets and scholars, followed by the exiled authors of the Torah and those who spread Jewish thought to all the civilized parts of the Persian Empire. About 300 B.C. Judaic culture was nearing the end of its second prime.

But meanwhile a new racial mixture was approaching its first prime. It also originated in Palestine, likewise in the north, and was probably initiated by the Assyrians' forcible removal of whole nations between 730 and 720 B.C., and carried on by the Cimmerian invasion and inroads of Nabu-kudurri-usur II. After 200 B.C. this second Jewish race had reached maturity; from it sprang a new type of piety, that of the Pharisees, but likewise new revolutionary movements; Jesus rose from its midst, and to it the second destruction of Jerusalem was due.

This tells us little of value concerning the racial descent of the Jews since the use of the term race is so loose. While there is a large amount of recorded history and myth concerning them, it was produced before the modern concept of race had appeared, and long before modern schemes of classification had developed. It illustrates the confusion of race, language, religion, nationality, and culture which befogs so much of the racial discussion of history. The tribes mentioned were probably of the same racial stocks as those which were found throughout southwestern Asia.

Cultural History. The pre-European cultural history of the Jews is a part of the general cultural history of the peoples of that part of Asia, having its beginnings in Babylonia, and in the case of the Jews and others similarly situated, early influenced by the ancient civilizations of Egypt, and later by the Hellenic. The Jewish, as already indicated, was early a mixture of tribal cultures. In its maturity it gained its distinction largely from its religious system, which was similar to the religions current throughout the early Persian Empire. It gave rise to both Christianity and Mohammedanism, which, as already noted, were important in the late cultural history of Europe. The Jewish state, in its maturity, was theocratic, and it became influential throughout the Mediterranean area as the center of both aggressive trade expansion and religious proselyting. There were strong Jewish colonies in both Babylonia and Egypt at the height of those civilizations, and by the second century B.C. the Jewish scriptures were being translated into Greek.

The political history of the Jews was one of the gradual formation of a nation-state, brought about by continuous pressures from without, marked by wars with and persecutions from neighboring peoples at this crossroads of migrations. The crushing of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great brought to an end the Jews' strong religious state between 325 and 300 B.C., but they survived as a religious community which continued to expand in influence. The Romans, in A.D. 70, further crushed their political organization and left the religious community greatly weakened. Judaism was unable to compete effectively with the rise, first, of Christianity to domination over the Mediterranean area, and later, of militant Mohammedanism.

The Diaspora. Long before the Romans eliminated the Jewish state, capturing and burning the capital city of Jerusalem and its temple, the main strength of Jewry had moved elsewhere. What is known as the Diaspora, or dispersion of Jews throughout the Mediterranean area, into Arabia, and northward into Armenia and Russia, had carried most of the population of Jewish faith and loyalties to remote places. Indeed, before the dawn of the Christian era, Alexandria, in Egypt, had become the chief Jewish city with a larger Jewish population than Jerusalem. It was dispersed Jewry which the Roman state could not crush and which more or less systematically extended Jewish influence throughout the civilized world.

The conquest of Spain by the Moslems carried with it a considerable number of Sephardic Jews who became leaders in the scholastic and artistic renaissance in Spain. These Jews remained influential in Spain until driven out by the Inquisition at about the time of the European discovery of America, when the Spanish Jews moved to various centers in western Europe, America, or back to southwestern Asia.

The Jews continued to penetrate farther into Russia and eastern Europe where they became important elements in the populations of some localities and regions. At the beginning of modern history, Jews were to be found widely dispersed through central Europe, and everywhere they were characterized by their strong in-group sentiments. It was their mutual loyalty and unity, centering in their religion, culture, and dream of regaining national status, which gave them a role in European culture relations far out of proportion in its significance to their limited numbers, even though those numbers grew rapidly whenever and wherever conditions were favorable.

Many Jews found an advantaged position in trade and became wealthy, and quite generally they appeared to fit well into the needs of the European economy of the feudal period.

> The Crusades mark the turning point in the history of Western Jewry. Their consequences, it has been said, extend even to our own day. Before them the persecutions of Jews had not only been relatively rare, but were also, generally speaking, more marked by the desire of the spiritual and temporal authorities for religious conformity than by hatred of the Jews. Popular feeling had not been inordinately antisemitic, and neither in France nor in Germany had the Jews on the whole occupied an exceptional position politically or economically. But now, under the stress of the general heresy hunt, the masses were filled with a hatred of the Jews which in greater or less degree has survived to our day. The Jews' prosperity was broken up, partly by pogroms, partly by enforced canceling of crusaders' debts, partly by antisemitic legislation the practical effect of which was to expel the Jews from the community, and partly by the fact that Christendom, which now owing to the Crusades came directly in contact with the Levant, no longer required them as intermediaries. Congregations with proud traditions and important Jewish centers of learning were annihilated whereby the level of Jewish culture was reduced.[8]

Even though anti-Semitism spread throughout Europe and repeatedly flared into persecutions and pogroms, as the town economies developed there continued to be felt need for them, and at times and places they were tolerated and even welcomed. A summary of the situation follows: [9]

> But it was not their love for the Jews—nor even a humanitarian feeling for the "underdog"—that prompted these Christians to permit the Jews to come in. It was plain, hard-headed business considerations. The kings of Poland, for just such reasons, issued special invitations to the Jews to settle in that country, and a great many Jews came to Poland, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
>
> But this kind of hospitality was not generally extended in western Europe where the Christian merchant class wanted no competition from the Jews. In that part of Europe, particularly in Germany, Austria, and Italy, the Jews were segregated from the Christian population; they were forced to live in walled-off communities called "ghettos." The Church had ordered the establishment of ghettos to keep Christians from being "tainted" by close association with the Jews.
>
> The merchant class was quite satisfied to see that the decree was enforced and by the end of the sixteenth century, the vast majority of Europe's Jews had been forced into the ghettos.

---

[8] Hugo Valentin, *Antisemitism, Historically and Critically Examined* (translated from the Swedish by A. G. Chater), The Viking Press, Inc., New York, 1936, p. 29.

[9] Solomon Landman and Benjamin Efrom, *Story without End; An Informal History of the Jewish People,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1949, pp. 148–149.

> The ghettos were set up in the least desirable parts of the towns; in swampy sections and in dark and narrow streets. The space allotted the Jews was always too small for the number who were forced to live in it. And if it was not unhealthy right from the start, it soon became an unsanitary slum, since it could not be enlarged even though the population increased. Every inch of space had to be used for buildings, and the houses themselves had to be built higher and higher until there was little light or air for the people who lived in them.

Greater emancipation was in store for the Jews, however, as the Age of Enlightenment gave a new leaven to the humanistic impulses of Western civilization. It was a part of the same general trends with which are associated the beginnings of modern science and liberalism in politics.

> . . . the people of France rose up in arms to defend their new constitution and their hard-won rights. The Jews of France joined the struggle heartily. Many enlisted in the army, while congregations donated the treasures of their synagogues to help the war effort. The synagogues themselves rang out with prayers for victory, for the French revolution had brought them freedom and the right to live and work as human beings, as citizens of the French nation.
>
> For many years the war to save the Revolution raged. When Napoleon took over the leadership of the government, the French armies began a victorious march through Europe. To the Jews in their path, their arrival meant an opportunity to breathe the new air of freedom. Wherever the French armies conquered, the walls of the ghetto fell and Jews walked free. And when Napoleon took Spain the hated Inquisition was abolished. The air of Europe seemed to be clearing as the winds blew in from France. The common man lifted up his head. So did the Jew, and he held out his hand in fellowship to his Christian neighbor.[10]

Despite the general unity of the dispersed Jewish community, it is to be noted that it was, from the start of the Diaspora, a divided community. At the core of it remained highly orthodox and literal interpreters of the Law, but large numbers became far more liberal in their interpretations and attitudes. This latter group not only welcomed converts into the Jewish community, but themselves intermarried and assimilated with neighboring non-Jews if conditions permitted. The myth of the Jews as a distinct race has persisted, although even at the start they were a mixed people, and in the Diaspora they tended more and more to mix with other peoples in the areas in which they found themselves. The Sephardic Jews of Spain came to contrast in appearance and somatic traits with the Jews of central Europe, just as both differed markedly from the Jews of eastern Europe and Russia. In their tight communities they developed local characteristics. The same may be said of the Jewish culture, which, while it retained some recognizable elements besides the common religious beliefs and practices, tended through time to take on cultural characteristics of the peoples among whom the Jews lived. Thus the German Jews became German, culturally, while the Polish Jews became Poles to a large extent, and both differed widely in language and other respects from the Jews who remained in Palestine.

---

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

The Problem of the Jew. To the question of why the Jews, despite these tendencies to change racial characteristics and cultural attributes with place and time, yet remained a distinct and distinguishable people, the answer is complex; yet it is important, for there is no near parallel to it in world history. In sociological terms it has been a peculiar interaction of in-group and out-group pressures. Conscious from the start of their unity as an in-group, they looked upon others as distinctly out-group; and in turn, the non-Jews, noting the failure of Jews to mingle freely and assimilate, came to see the Jews as out-group. The resultant exclusion of the Jews from the dominant in-groups in various places made the Jews more than ever conscious of themselves as an in-group and intensified the bonds among them. The very insistence of the Jews upon the inviolability of their religious beliefs, practices, and symbols tended to place them always somewhat in opposition to any authority which threatened these things, and thus on the side of protest and rebellion against excess of power. In this way there grew the tradition of liberalism and revolt which has characterized many Jewish people.

These various factors combined to make the Jews targets for periodic persecutions: they were out-group, they were "queer," they tended to protest and revolt. Added to this was the spread of militant Christianity over Europe with its belief that the Jews had slain Jesus and therefore were anti-Christ. The earliest segregations of the Jews were voluntary, but soon they came to be enforced. With segregation came all kinds of discrimination—economic, political, educational, and otherwise. In the growing towns and cities they were confined in ghettos, and in Russia they were placed in the Jewish Pale where they were systematically exploited. Their well-known belief in a Messiah who would come to establish a new Jewish nation which would dominate the world led to ready acceptance of rumors concerning local and world-wide Jewish conspiracies, the best known example of which was that of the Protocol of the Fathers of Zion, presumably a conspiratorial pact among Jewish leaders to overthrow the powers of Christendom and seize world control by force.

These historical and traditional sources of anti-Semitism have survived throughout most of Europe, despite the growth of knowledge and presumed increase in tolerance in other regards. The latent feeling against the Jews has always been fertile soil in which persons in power or seeking power could call forth blind resentments and loyalties by focusing attention upon the Jews.

The whole history of the Jews in Europe has been complicated by its economic aspects. Some of the earliest restrictions against Jews were those which forbade them from entering respectable occupations or owning land or other property. This forced them into trade and such unrespected occupations as moneylending. Many of them, but by no means all or most, accumulated considerable wealth from time to time and thus became conspicuous and inviting targets for those in authority who needed funds. The great mass of Jews were kept in poverty throughout European history, as they are at the present time.

RECENT CHANGES

The modern history of Europe has been one in which life conditions were changing greatly and rapidly, much more than they had in long preceding periods. Population grew rapidly, wealth accumulated, cities developed, and modern nationalism came to submerge and obscure all other bonds of unity and lines of difference. A revived European culture was constructed on the old Graeco-Roman foundations. Its common elements became Western civilization as we now know it; but at the same time cultural variety increased within the general framework. The Protestant Reformation split Christianity in the West between an ever-increasing variety of Protestant sects and the Roman Catholic Church. The Industrial Revolution paralleled the rise of science, and both spread through the continent. Increasingly the peoples of Europe became involved with and largely dependent upon peoples outside of Europe. The arts and practice of warfare developed with nationalism, steadily in the direction of total and universal war. Not the least of the changes which ushered in the present era of racial and cultural contacts were the rapid extension and improvement of means of communication including printing, steam and electric transportation, the telegraph, telephone, radio, and many other developments which are familiar and too numerous to detail.

It would be possible to select any one area of Europe, almost any locality, and trace throughout its history the cultural and racial contacts, the processes of conflict, assimilation, and differentiation which were everywhere continuous, locally different, yet all somewhat representative of the general European pattern.

Nation and Class. Nationalism has tended to cut across racial and cultural lines, such as they have been; it has, in turn, given rise to new ethnic distinctions, often based largely on cultural and racial myths but serving nevertheless to mark one people off from another. A counterpart to the rise of nationalism which has been both a confusing and clarifying factor has been the rise of class distinctions which characterize European countries today. Behind the class distinctions lie long histories, going back to the days of feudalism and beyond. The rise of trade and growth of cities brought to the fore the important middle class which first stood between the nobles and the serfs and later became dominant in most countries. The Industrial Revolution brought into existence the class of industrial wage workers. These class distinctions have cut across even national boundaries, and certainly they have transcended many traditional racial and cultural lines of cleavage.

The urbanization of Europe has increased the number and frequency, as well as the intensity, of contacts among peoples of various racial and cultural backgrounds. The large cities of Europe became typically cosmopolitan. Europe is now far removed from the conditions of the stone ages, or even those of the rise of the first civilizations in southwestern Asia and Egypt, and later in Greece and Rome.

SUMMARY

Historical backgrounds of racial and cultural relations in Europe go far back into the past. There is evidence that Eocene, or Dawn, man 100,000 or more years ago was approaching a human type on the continent, and at the same time developing the rudiments of material culture. Toward the end of the Ice Age, first Paleolithic, then Neolithic, man was extending his range over the continent, and the crude cultures were beginning to show refinements. The evidence from such periods is limited, however, and indicates certainly the developments shown by a few of the more durable objects of early handicraft.

The first civilizations developed outside of Europe, in Mesopotamia and Egypt, and from there, through the island of Crete, reached Europe and paved the way for early Greek and other Mediterranean cultures. These evolved into Hellenic culture, and then the Graeco-Roman civilization from which Western civilization, as we know it, stemmed. After the decline of Rome, various infusions of culture came to Europe from the outside—Christianity and the Moslem invasions, notably—and helped to maintain and revive civilization after the confusion of the Dark Ages.

Early racial history of the European peoples is largely a matter of surmise from scarce evidence, and most interpretations are tinged with ethnocentric biases. The one fact that stands out from what is known is that of the continuous mixture of peoples, as regards both physical types and cultural attributes. In modern history the rise of nationalism and the European class structure have obscured racial and cultural distinctions.

Unique in the history of ethnic contacts has been the story of the Jews in Europe, who through twenty centuries have maintained their ethnic unity to a sufficient degree that the Jews have remained a distinctive people. This remarkable phenomenon is due to a complex of factors including both the Jewish feeling of unity centered in their common religion and the tendency for them, because they have remained somewhat aloof, to become out-group to those among whom they have lived. The Jews have been destined to play a role in the history of European ethnic relations far out of proportion, in its significance, to their numerical strength.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Who were the Neanderthals? The Cro-Magnons?
2. What were the origins of Western civilization?
3. How did the period of Mohammedan expansion affect cultural development in Europe?
4. What part did the Crusades play in that development?
5. What is the Indo-European hypothesis?
6. Describe the "expansive period" of European peoples.
7. What were the origins of the Jews?
8. What was the Diaspora?
9. What has been the effect of the rise of European nationalism on racial and cultural distinctions?
10. Explain the increasing involvements of European people with those of the rest of the world.

SUGGESTED READINGS

AULT, W. O., *Europe in Modern Times,* D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1946.

———, *Europe in the Middle Ages,* D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1937.

CLELAND, H. F., *Our Prehistoric Ancestors,* Coward-McCann, Inc., New York, 1928.

KISCH, GUIDO, *The Jews in Medieval Germany,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1949.

ROBINSON, CHARLES A., *Ancient History,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1951.

TAFT, DONALD R., *World Immigration,* The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1936.

WHITTLESEY, DERWENT, *Environmental Foundations of European History,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1949.

CHAPTER 10

EUROPE: RACES AND CULTURES

EUROPE, presently trying to recover from the shocks of the Second World War and its immediate aftermath, is in a state of transition whose directions are, in some regards, clear, in others uncertain. It is the confusions of the transition which make hazardous any analysis of racial and cultural relations of the peoples, bound, as these are, with nationalistic strivings and the kaleidoscope of internal politics of many nations. Whether the war itself was the cause of the transitions, or simply a symptom and crisis stage in shifts which were already under way, is debatable, but the careful study of the forerunners of the war—beginning with the Russian revolutions, the rise of the Nazis in Germany, the political demoralization of France, the civil war in Spain, and many other spectacular series of events—would seem to indicate that the transition was well under way when the war came and speeded the processes.

Multiple Aspects. There are many aspects of the transition which deserve at least passing attention for their reflection of or bearing upon ethnic relations. One has been the shift in demographic balances, long under way but apparently becoming acute. This includes both the growth of populations outside of Europe at a more rapid rate than within Europe, and the more rapid growth of southern and eastern European peoples by comparison with those of northern and western Europe. Accompanying these shifts have been shifts in power alignments, by which the dominance once held by a few European countries over the political destinies of the world has passed, largely, to people outside of Europe, including those of the United States, and to some extent, to those of the Orient. This situation has been aggravated by the shift of power in Europe from the west to the east, and by the partial or complete disintegration of previous "ruling" classes of long standing within nations to loosely organized and unstable political coalitions or to new "ruling" classes which draw their support from previously submerged classes.

Added to such transitional movements and forces have been the changes in political boundaries and the rise of new spheres of influence among the powerful nations, the transfers and displacement of millions of people of various ethnic groups, the presence of non-European occupation forces, and the groping toward new balance-of-power combinations among postwar nations.

From this it may be seen that the ethnic relationships are involved in changes coming both from without and from within Europe and, for the time at least, appear to be subordinated to more pressing problems and adjustments. That they remain both to be used as instruments in power and political struggles, and to confuse many issues, is equally evident. Germans are still Germans, Slavs still Slavs, and a brief flurry of Scottish nationalism resulting from the theft of the Stone of Scone from the British throne serves to remind that the Scotch are still Scotch.

THE SETTING

The smallest of the continents except for Australia, Europe contains about one-tenth of the world's total land area and about one-fifth of the earth's population, or nearly 600 million people. This means that it has the greatest average population density of the continents, a condition which is reflected in most countries of Europe, but not in all, for in this regard there are contrasts. In the northern part of Norway and in Lapland, for example, the population is very sparse, while in the Low Countries and England it is far denser than in most of the continent. The previous chapter outlined the long history of the way in which the continent has become peopled, and how, in recent times, it has been the source of migrations and cultural diffusion to all parts of the world. The peoples of Europe have furnished the bases for the modern populations of most parts of the Americas, and of Australia and New Zealand, as well as for considerable populations in South Africa and elsewhere. As the home of the variety of cultural developments usually generalized as Western civilization, Europe has necessarily been a focus of attention for recent studies of cultural dynamics, for there is no area or people which has not been affected, to some extent, by the impact of cultural elements stemming from European sources.

Physiography. Actually, from the geographer's viewpoint, Europe is an extension of the Asiatic continent, and by comparison with the latter may be considered as a great peninsula, extending into the Atlantic Ocean and its subsidiary seas. Besides size and general location, there are several physiographic characteristics of Europe which have affected, in complex ways, the development of peoples and their interrelationships. The coast line is irregular, furnishing numerous excellent harbors; and the sheltered Mediterranean Sea to the south and the Baltic to the north have been favorable to coastwise communication and shipping. A number of navigable rivers, the Rhine, Elbe, Seine, and Rhone, to mention a few, have given easy access to the interior of the continent. Many of Europe's great port cities are located on such rivers, some distance from the open sea.

Valleys of the great rivers have afforded natural routes for overland migrations before and since the beginning of history. A few mountain ranges, especially the Alps, Pyrenees, and Caucasian, have been serious obstacles to the movements of peoples and have partially isolated some small areas, but mainly there is a lack of such barriers by comparison with other continents. Relatively low altitudes and exposure to winds and ocean currents from the west have made the climate mild by contrast to that in the same latitudes in Asia and North America. And Europe is the one continent without a desert. All considered, conditions have been favorable to the growth of population and the continuous cross-fertilization of races and cultures.

On the other hand, much of Europe is a maze of small valleys and land pockets, separated by low and by no means insurmountable mountains and hills. Thus, while communication and trade are relatively easy over the continent as far as physiography is concerned, there are physiographic features which encourage the development of small somewhat distinctive groups with local cultural variations, even within the same larger ethnic group or nation.

There are also man-made barriers, such as that now epitomized in the "iron curtain" which serves effectively to curtail communication between the East and the West. The rise of the iron curtain has been concomitant with the tendency to lower barriers along national boundaries on both sides of the curtain as exemplified in the Atlantic Pact and the trade agreements among the Western nations, and the continuous Russian involvement in the internal affairs of her satellite nations.

POPULATION TRENDS

There are more people in Europe at present than there were in the entire world a few hundred years ago, and in this fact is reflected the remarkable population growth which has occurred on the continent in recent times. The population of Europe has doubled in the past 150 years, and it continues to grow at a rapid rate, if the entire continent is considered.

A remarkable thing about the growth of European population is that, at least for the periods for which we have reliable vital statistics, it has been accompanied by a steadily declining birth rate, so that the growth must be due mainly to a more rapid decline in death rate. Certainly the virtual disappearance of plagues and famines which were once a part of the life experience of European peoples is a spectacular phase of this development. Less spectacular has been the steady development of sanitation, medical knowledge and practice, swifter and easier transportation with the concomitant growth in trade, and the general rise in living standards.

Contrasts. Such developments have been far from uniform. They have gone furthest in western and northern Europe, where the death rate has declined most, as has the birth rate. The peoples of these areas are near or at the point now of stationary populations, for the death rate in its decline has reached the point where further reduction becomes extremely slow if not impossible. For decades, France has had a declining population. The British Islands, especially England, are close behind, as are the Scandinavian countries. Germany and central Europe will follow rapidly toward the point of stationary population.

> The reduction of peacetime mortality, no matter how important in the past and how desirable from the humanitarian point of view, can have little further influence on future growth in Western Europe. As has been indicated, in many countries, even if all deaths at ages under 50 were eliminated, the population would still fail to replace itself at prewar fertility rates. Though progress remains to be made, in the more advanced countries the gains in mortality at the younger ages are in the past. In countries like Sweden and the Netherlands, the possible future gains in infant mortality, for example, are only a small fraction of those already made. In these countries the infant mortality of 1939 was below 4 per cent of the births. In Roumania, by contrast, and in the Western countries two or three generations ago, up to 20 per cent of the infants died in the first year of life. Elimination of all infant deaths in Western Europe, patently an impossibility, would bring small gains as compared with those already achieved.[1]

By contrast with northern and western Europe, the southern and eastern countries, including the vast area of European Russia, have lagged generally in death rate decline while birth rates have remained relatively high. In these countries the rapid growth of population continues and will continue into the foreseeable future. It is from these countries—Portugal, Spain, Italy, the Balkans, Poland, and Russia—that future population growth in Europe will come.

One phase of the differential birth and death rates of the populations of different parts of Europe has been the accompanying disbalance in age groupings and sex ratios within populations. The peoples of the more ma-

---

[1] Frank W. Notestein and Others, *The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union,* League of Nations, Geneva, 1944, p. 175.

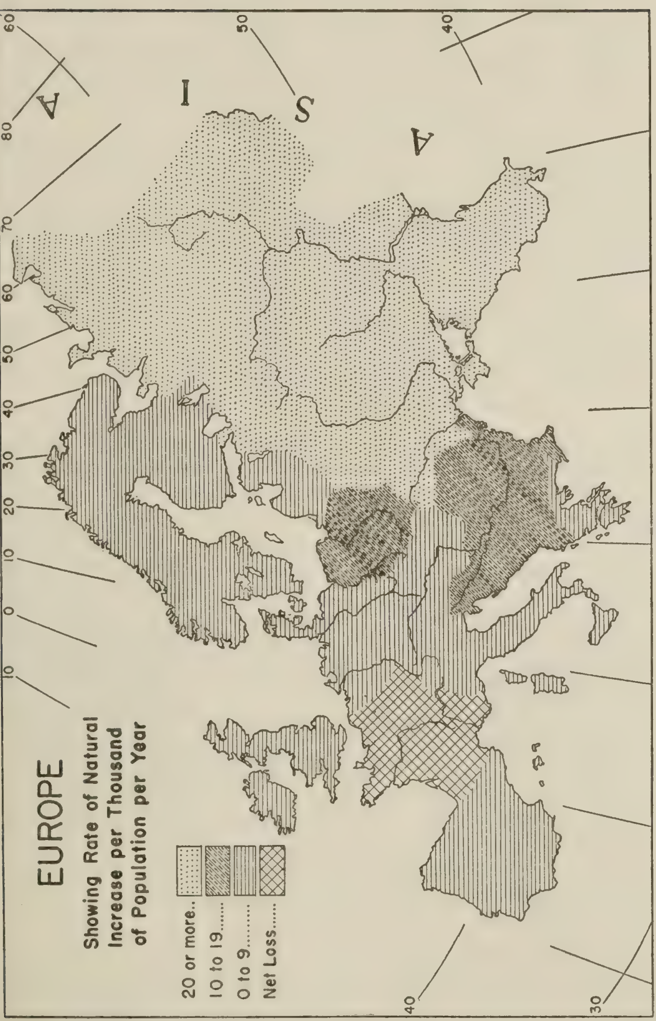
EUROPE
Showing Rate of Natural Increase per Thousand of Population per Year
20 or more..
10 to 19......
0 to 9........
Net Loss......
A
S
I
A
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
10
60
50
40
40
30

FIG. 4

ture population areas, northern and western Europe, tend to become increasingly populations of older people, with a relatively high proportion of females to males. The countries of eastern Europe have larger proportions in the younger and more productive years and larger proportions of males. Such differences are crucial when the situation is considered in terms of balance of power, or lack of such balance.

Population Pressures. This differential behavior of European populations has contributed to strains between and among peoples as existing balances of population with land and resources are upset, and pressures set up from the more rapidly growing populations against the territories controlled by the slowly growing ones. Much of Europe's recent political history, including the great wars of the past few decades, can be traced, in part at least, to such felt population pressures as between nations and the efforts to relieve them by force. An aggravating factor is always the disparity in stages of the productive arts and resultant contrasts in levels of living. As a League of Nations report pointed out: [2]

> Under the institutional and organizational conditions previously outlined, the dynamic situation gives little ground for optimism with respect to the future economic position of the Eastern and Southern European peasant. The widespread prevalence of high indebtedness relative to assets and income indicated not only that self-capitalization in agriculture is low, but also that far from accumulating capital the peasant is frequently in the position of steadily depleting his resources and of borrowing to postpone the time of complete insolvency. In fact, whether the capital depletion takes the form of soil exhaustion and obsolescence of equipment or the form of growing indebtedness, it is clear that the process may be a spiral escaped only by capital originating outside of the agricultural organization.
>
> Again, the previously noted restrictions on increased production result in the perpetuation of inefficiencies. Even if one could assume an inherent dynamic toward improved technology and increased production, which is not at all uniformly true of agrarian economies, the network of institutional and organizational limitations would stringently restrict economic rationalization. This is not to say that no significant changes have taken place during the recent past, or that no changes may be predicted for the future, but only that, with significant exceptions, the pace of change is slow and the results in any generation may be minor.

Recent evidences of the contrasting economic potentials of East and West in Europe may be found in the relatively rapid recovery, or partial recovery, of the industrial countries such as Germany and England, notably, after the devastation of the war. A not insignificant element of the recovery, of course, was the capital advanced by the United States to help bring it about. It is nevertheless significant that no such pool of capital was available to the East, nor was there the much-needed technological "know-how."

---

[2] Wilbert E. Moore, *Economic Demography of Eastern and Southern Europe,* League of Nations, Geneva, 1945, pp. 96–97.

ETHNIC COMPLICATIONS

The fact that differential demographic trends, which tend to increase strains arising out of disparities in living levels, are basic to European problems does not mean that there are not many other factors in the situation. Europe is an extremely complex aggregation of nation-states, small in area by comparison with those outside Europe, for the most part, and with rigid and jealously guarded boundaries. These boundaries only roughly follow ethnic divisions among peoples, and yet nationalism is based largely upon appeals of supposed ethnic unity. In fact, as Simonds and Emeny say, it would be impossible to draw the boundaries of Europe so that there would be no ethnic minorities. As they go on to say: [3]

> Again, the effect of the presence, just across the frontiers of a state, of minorities speaking the same tongue as its own people usually resembles that of population pressure, since it inspires the government and people of such a state with the hope of expanding their boundaries to include these minorities, thereby to achieve ethnic unity. Thus the aspiration of France in the pre-war era to recover the French-speaking districts of German Alsace-Lorraine, and that of Italy to liberate the Latin populations of Trieste and Trentino, directly influenced the French and Italian national policies. And today [1935] the irredentist ambitions of Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria have similar effects.
>
> The fact that European ethnic circumstances find no parallel in America, or, for that matter, in the various parts of the British Commonwealth having white populations, has always served to blind the English-speaking publics to the importance and the reality of this question of nationality in Europe. The British-American group of nations habitually identify the irredentist aspirations of European states as no more than ambitions to acquire new markets, fresh sources of raw materials, and wider lands for colonization or for enhancement of power and prestige.

The previous chapter described the historical processes by which Europe has become a veritable crazy quilt of peoples, which lends itself to no easy or simple analysis on the basis of racial or cultural classifications because many of the groups represent complex mixtures in both regards. Whatever section of the continent is taken for analysis, intensive investigation invariably leads to recognition of the confusions apparent to the analyst, but often not to the less critical observations and feelings of those who must live in their midst. One writer sums it up briefly: [4]

---

[3] Frank H. Simonds and Brooks Emeny, *The Great Powers in World Politics,* American Book Company, New York, 1935, pp. 111–112.

> Europe may aptly be regarded as a vast field of settlement where the native element has, again and again, been swamped by successive flows of immigrants proceeding from every point of the compass. The wanderings of these invaders have been directed, in part, into channels provided by the main mountain ranges of Eurasia. Valleys or plains which favored expansion of nationality were, at the same time, the avenues through which languages spread. The barrier boundary of the Mediterranean basin contains a number of important breaches on the north which facilitated the mingling of the Nordic race with Mediterranean men after it had mixed with Alpine peoples. Within historic times men of Celtic speech have been driven westward by the Teutons, who also pressed Slavs in the opposite direction. The consequence is that few Frenchmen or Germans of our day can lay claim to racial purity. Northern France is perhaps more Teutonic than southern Germany, while eastern Germany is, in many places, more Slavic than Russia. To ascribe political significance to race is therefore as difficult today as it was when Roman citizenship meant definitely more in comparison.

Subracial Distribution. Despite the obvious confusion of racial elements in Europe, there have been persistent efforts to simplify it, in theory at least, into a workable analytical scheme. These theories are apt to be oversimplifications of the fact, but each, probably, has in it some element of truth, even though in combination they still inadequately describe the present situation. The several theories are based upon the generally accepted notion that the Caucasoid peoples of Europe are divisible into three subracial groups: the Nordic, the Alpine, and the Mediterranean. Some of these theories, usually confusing language with race, would add one or two more subraces.

A favored scheme places the Nordic subrace in the north of Europe, chiefly in northern Germany, the Scandinavian peninsula, and Britain. The Alpine peoples are supposedly those of central Europe, including most of France and the Danube Basin. The theory then describes the peoples of Spain, Italy, and other areas bordering the Mediterranean Sea as the Mediterranean subrace. Even where such geographical distribution is accepted, it is recognized that race mixture has been so extensive and has such a long history that sharp boundaries are impossible, and overlappings are fully as important as the general plan of distribution. "Pure" types of any of the three subraces are exceptional, if they exist at all.

---

[4] Leon Dominian, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, published for the National Geographic Society of New York by Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1917, pp. 3–4.

Another scheme of division which has been given considerable attention is that which describes the Nordic peoples as belonging to the lower elevations in northern and central Europe, while the Alpine peoples occupy mainly the higher elevations. Still another, which suggests a rather obvious bias, associated Nordic racial characteristics with the aristocracies and ruling elements in northern and central Europe, and the Alpine with the peasant, and generally lower, classes. In all such schemes, the utmost care must be used in evaluating evidence and in carefully separating the purely somatic traits from cultural distinctions and nationalistic rationalizations.

In considering racial and subracial group relations, it must be borne in mind constantly that what is effective in such relations is not the scientifically sound theories or classifications, but rather the beliefs and loyalties of the peoples themselves. These may be vaguely linked with prevailing scientific notions, or quite at variance with them, but when people behave toward each other they are determinative. When German faces Frenchman and Frenchman faces German, the apparent fact that some Germans are more closely akin to Frenchmen than to other Germans, and the converse, does not at all prevent the peoples from thinking about and behaving toward each other as though they were quite separate and distinct races.

Cultural Distribution. In many ways the best single cultural criterion is that of language if one keeps in mind the reservation that language is not a constant but rather a variable even in a given ethnic group. Europe may be roughly blocked out into the Latin or Romance language, the Germanic, and the Slavic areas according to the distribution of peoples who speak these various types of language. Included within the Latin area would be most of the peoples living along the Mediterranean Coast, the peoples of Spain, and those of France. The Germanic area would include, besides Germany, the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, and England. Within the Slavic areas would be the people of European Russia, as well as those of much of the Balkan Peninsula and many of the peoples of the Danube Basin. Usually within the national boundaries of any European country there is one recognized language which is that of residents of the country, even though there be local and national differences in dialect, but in some countries several languages are spoken. Notably in Switzerland, German, French, and Italian are all used, while in Belgium there is a division between the French portion and the Germanic. In the British Islands, while English is the official language and that of most of the people, there is strong historic and ethnic attachment also to Gaelic and Welsh. In the countries of the lower Danube Basin, there are a large number of people who speak Magyar. Thus culturally, as indicated by language, as well as racially, boundaries are complex and often confused by exceptions, overlappings, and enclavements. In all, fifty or sixty languages and distinctive dialects are used on the continent.

In the cultural picture of Europe it must be kept in mind that the Jews are distributed in all parts of the continent, and in many are recognized and often treated as a quite distinct population element, a heritage of the historical developments sketched in the preceding chapter. Especially in central and eastern Europe, they are an important numerical element, but also a problem of cultural adjustment, usually rationalized as "racial." Their concentration is largely urban and, as will be detailed below, they were the special targets immediately before and during the Second World War of persecutions on a scale without historical precedent.

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES

The many discrepancies between the political boundaries of European nations and the ethnic distribution have made the problem of minorities one of the most perplexing and disturbing of modern European history. On a small scale it is found in every part of Europe, and every nation and nationality are somewhere concerned. As previously noted, minorities living abroad have served as an incitement and excuse for expansive policies, especially upon the part of strong and aggressive nations. There is a continuous chorus of complaint from minorities of mistreatment at the hands of the governments under which they live, and at times such governments have attempted by enforced educational and other practices to assimilate the minorities, but usually against strong resistance.

The Danube Basin, which has historically been one of the main routes for migratory movements in Europe, especially, abounds with such minority problems. Frequent changes in boundaries and the setting up of new nations have failed to bring an adequate solution. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, indeed, one of the important phenomena of European history was the rise of nationalistic movements among the many small enclavements of ethnic groups with accompanying demands for self-determination and independent nationhood by many of them. These movements were disturbing elements which contributed frequently to the outbreak of war.

German Minorities Abroad. Seized upon by Hitler in the first expansive steps leading to the outbreak of the Second World War was the excuse of protection for German minorities abroad. Indeed, the German minorities do constitute the largest and most complicated pattern of the minority problem.

German colonization, which resulted in the implanting of numerous folk groups among other European nationalities, has a long history marked by two distinct phases of development. The first wave of migration from Germany started in the eleventh century, reached its crest in the fourteenth, and subsided a century later in the face of a Slavonic onslaught. A new mass movement started in the sixteenth century, and lasted until the nineteenth, when German emigration turned overseas. Geographically these two migrations moved in three principal directions: to the northeast toward the Baltic Sea; to the east toward the Warthe region and the middle course of the Vistula, toward the Sudets and the Carpathians; and to the southeast toward the Danube basin and the Balkan mountain country. In the east, German colonization knew no limits; in the south, it was, for the most part, checked by the Alps, and in the north by the sea. Nations of high culture and strongly developed state organization barred any substantial German expansion westward. Both colonization waves left tangible traces in the form of numerous German minority groups in the areas now known as Poland, the Baltic countries, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, southern Ukraine, and the Volga region.[5]

The *anschluss,* or customs union with Austria, was an implementation of the ethnic affiliations of Germans and Austrians of which the Nazis made capital. There followed annexation of the Ruhr in the name of Germans resident there, the quarrels over treatment of German minorities in the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, and the invasion of Poland in the name of German minorities in the Polish corridor and the free city of Dantzig. And thus, step by step, German expansion based upon the rationalizations provided by minorities outside the German boundaries led into the Second World War.

Other Minorities. Minorities of other ethnic extraction which have recently been critical in European affairs have been numerous, although none has been on the scale of the Germans living in other countries. The breakup after the First World War of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire left in its wake the problem of Serbian, Hungarian, and Croatian minorities in neighboring countries, and similar problems have been serious near the borders of Rumania with Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, and Hungary. Greek minorities in Bulgaria and European Turkey have led to strains in relationships. The Finnish minority in the Soviet Union is but one of numerous examples in Russia, which as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics includes as many as fifty or more ethnic groups, most of them Asiatic.

[5] Joseph B. Schechtman, *European Population Transfers, 1939–1945,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1946, p. 27.

Italians living in both France and the Trieste area and the German and French populations of Alsace and Lorraine have provided intermittent danger spots in western Europe.

Efforts at Solution. While the minorities scattered over Europe have been frequent contributing causes of war, numerous efforts have been made at peaceful solutions which would be satisfactory to the nations involved and to the minority peoples themselves. These have been of three general types. The first has been the peaceful change of boundaries, usually involving a plebiscite of the people immediately affected. Another has been the transfer of the minority people to their homeland. A third type has been to grant to minorities a degree of autonomy sufficient to enable them to preserve their languages and the essential features of their cultures, either with or without enforcement from outside the country in which the minorities live.

The treaties following the First World War were efforts at solutions on a large scale of many of the minority problems. They provided for minority rights to be guaranteed by the nations in which foreign minorities lived, under the oversight of the League of Nations. They also provided for numerous boundary changes and the setting up of new countries whose boundaries presumably followed more closely than had previous arrangements the ethnic distribution of various peoples. Finally, they provided in some cases for repatriation of populations to their homelands, as notably in the case of the exchanges arranged between Turkey and Greece, and Greece and Bulgaria. The latter exchange, involving the movement of about 30,000 persons, appears to have been the only such transfer completed. The other provisions were mainly notable for their lack of realism and their eventual breakdown in many areas.

The largest scale transfers of peoples took place during and after the Second World War. Germany, especially, had well-worked-out plans for the repatriation of German minorities, as well as for the Germanization of conquered territories. During the course of the war and immediately following, more than a million Germans were moved into Germany, even though the German territory was reduced by about a fourth. During the war, the Germans systematically moved hundreds of thousands of people from occupied territories into Germany to serve at forced labor, and at the same time moved Germans into key positions in such territories to keep them more tightly under German control. Similar methods were used on a large scale by the Russians.

It may well be said that both World Wars and the subsequent "solutions" for the minority problems of Europe have changed things relatively little, and most of the historic trouble spots due to ethnic distribution of peoples remain. To them has been added the additional, but related, problem of displaced persons, numbering into the millions, and found in all parts of Europe which were directly affected by the wars.

Soviet Policy. The problems of minorities resident within her boundaries are considerably different for the Soviet Union than for other European countries, largely because of the size of the Russian territory. Where such problems have occurred on the frontiers of Russian territory, the Russians have used much the same tactics and methods as have been used by other strong nations of Europe, and sometimes have used them ruthlessly. In such cases, the residence of Slavic ethnic minorities abroad has been used to rationalize Russian aggressions and interventions.

For those minorities within the Soviet Union and not on frontiers, the Soviet Union appears to have developed a successful policy of partial autonomy for ethnic groups, which is described and evaluated by one recent writer: [6]

> Some fundamental principles of Bolshevist policy in the cultural field are evident in all the available material; foreign controversy centers rather round their evaluation than about the facts themselves, which are hardly disputable. It is evident that the U.S.S.R. tends to grant the maximum education to all its citizens in their mother-tongue, though taking due care that as many as possible learn Russian, as the inter-Union language. The heritage of the Tsarist regime confronted the Soviet system, in most of the nations of the Empire, with rather elementary educational tasks. But no limit is set to the development of each national civilization. It is evident, too, that the Soviet recognized no historical or other claims by particular nationalities for a monopoly of privileged position for their national civilizations in any territory. The minorities, even in non-Russian territories, are protected and furthered in every conceivable way, not only by giving them their own schools, but occasionally even by granting them personal cultural autonomy, which the Bolshevists do not regard as a sufficient solution of the national problem in general; once a minority has gained a certain strength, it might be allowed to form national Soviets of its own. The same principle is recognized as regards the definition of the nation, whose cultural development is to be encouraged; in the discussions familiar to any student of East European or Asiatic nationality problems, whether certain kindred tribes form one nation or more, the Soviet is always inclined to side with the defenders of the latter point of view.

U.S.S.R. Expansion. However tolerant U.S.S.R. policies may appear to be toward minority culture groups within Russia's historic boundaries, the recent expansion of political control beyond those limits has become an alarming threat to all Europe. Russia, like Great Britain, may be regarded both as a part of continental Europe, and yet alien and intrusive. But whereas Great Britain is now receding in influence and expansive force, the U.S.S.R. is growing and advancing. Of this Toynbee says: [7]

---

[6] Rudolf Schlesinger, *Federalism in Central and Eastern Europe,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1945, pp. 381–382.

> The obstacle presented by the Soviet Union looks, it must frankly be confessed, much more difficult after the Second World War than before it. Within its inter-war frontiers, the Soviet Union, unlike the previous Russian Empire, lay virtually outside Europe, for at that stage it did not include that fringe of countries with a Western tradition of culture whose inclusion had brought the former Russian Empire into the fellowship of European states. As a result of the War of 1914–18, the successful invasion of the Russian Empire by the Germans, and the two successive revolutions of 1917, these Western borderlands parted company with Russia and entered the European fellowship on their own account as the independent national states of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland. As a result of the War of 1939–45, however, there has been a reversion here to something much more like the pre-1914 situation. The three Baltic states have been re-annexed to Russia as constituent republics of the Soviet Union, and not only Finland and the whole of Poland (including the former Prussian and Austrian portions), but Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia as well, have been brought within the Soviet sphere of influence, *de facto* though not *de jure,* as satellite states. Including the German territories, east of the Northern Neisse and the Oder, which have been assigned to Poland by the Soviet Union in compensation for the Ukrainian and White Russian provinces of inter-war Poland which the Soviet Union has now taken back, and adding to all this the Soviet zones of occupation in Germany and Austria, we find the western boundary of the Soviet world now running down the middle of Europe, north and south, from the Baltic to the Adriatic.

THE JEWISH PROBLEM

The Jews have remained a persisting problem of "racial" and cultural adjustment, especially in central and eastern Europe. During the years between the First and Second World Wars and throughout the Second World War, Germany was the focus of anti-Semitism which developed to extremes that greatly shocked a world which had become somewhat accustomed to pogroms as recurring episodes of modern European history. The backgrounds of the feelings against the Jews and the frequent political expediency of appealing to such feelings have already been discussed.

As the Nazis rose to power in Germany during the 1930's, they used the Aryan myth and anti-Semitism as instruments of internal politics to rally support to their party and its rule, to solidify their gains, and to rid themselves of troublesome individuals and groups, as had become increasingly the practice in various parts of Europe.

---

[7] Arnold J. Toynbee, *Civilization on Trial,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1948, pp. 122–123.

> At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, anti-Semitism became an instrument of great national and international importance. The acute national and social struggle of that period, the political differentiation and strong ideological controversies in the social life at that time, the participation of the masses in the political struggle—all this created a favorable atmosphere for the utilization of anti-Jewish feelings as a weapon which political parties applied against each other. Thus, anti-Semitism was used as a weapon against democratic revolutions in all European countries. In Germany, Austria, Russia, and Poland, the feudal classes waged their struggle against the liberal movements of the 19th century and originated the idea that Jews are solely responsible for liberalism and democracy, and that they would use these liberal movements exclusively to their own advantage. Later, the remainder of the feudal classes united with the bourgeois classes in their common struggle against the socialist movement, and popularized the notion that Socialism was a purely Jewish invention by which they, the Jews, tried to rule the world. The rapidly growing international, economic, political, and cultural complications, and the manifold influence of modern methods of agitation and propaganda campaigns even transgressed the borders of government activity, crossed seas and oceans, and opened new and broad vistas for anti-Semitism. The tendency to use the weapon of anti-Jewish hatred in international politics became even stronger.
>
> The Russian Czarist government actively employed anti-Jewish hatred in its struggle against the revolutionary movement. As is well known, Russia experienced a strong wave of pogroms in the years 1881–1882, immediately after the assassination of Alexander II. Jewish participation in this assassination, as well as in the whole revolutionary movement of that time, was almost infinitesimal. . . .[8]

Under the Nazi regime, attacks upon Jews were first sporadic, but later they became a part of a systematic policy whose avowed aim was to "liquidate" the entire Jewish population of the country. Wholesale discriminatory practices, persecutions, and slaughter of Jews were combined with partial or complete confiscation of Jewish property. It has been estimated that as many as 6 million Jews were killed by the Germans or died under their harsh treatment, but probably the figure is somewhat exaggerated. The incontrovertible evidence, however, is sufficient to establish that the Nazi regime surpassed all previous similar examples of mass cruelty aimed against an ethnic group powerless to resist.

At the close of the Second World War, Jews were numerous among the displaced persons, especially in Germany, and only partial relief for the problem has come from migrations to Palestine, and, in relatively small numbers, to other countries of the world. The growth of the threat to

---

[8] Jacob Lestchinsky, "Anti-Semitism," in Feliks Gross, *European Ideologies,* Philosophic Library, New York, 1948, pp. 665–666.

Europe from Soviet expansion has tended to force the Jewish problem into the background in recent years. It remains latent and may well reemerge.

RELIGIOUS MAP OF EUROPE

Cutting across linguistic and other cultural divisions as well as national boundaries are great groupings of people according to religious organization and beliefs. The Roman and Eastern Orthodox Catholic churches and the Protestant Reformation were all European historical developments whose effects persist in providing both bonds of unity for otherwise alien peoples, and divisions within otherwise cohesive groups.

Religious Distribution. The largest numerically and the strongest organizationally of the religious bodies is the Roman Catholic Church with its nerve center in the autonomous Papal State at Rome. Whole national populations, as those of Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Irish Free State, are almost entirely Roman Catholic. Others, such as those of France, Germany, Belgium, and Austria, contain large Roman Catholic segments of sufficient size to constitute important influences in all important domestic affairs. In most European countries where Catholics are relatively small minorities, they are nevertheless far from negligible as religious elements.

The Eastern Orthodox Catholics had, in recent history, centered largely in Russia; but with the suspicious and often hostile atmosphere resulting from the 1917 revolutions in that country, their numbers and influence have waned. Some reports appear to indicate a partial revival of activity and prestige of the church in Russia, but accurate knowledge on this score is not available to the outside world. The secondary stronghold of the Orthodox church has been in Greece and a large part of what is now regarded as Soviet satellite territory—Poland, and Bulgaria especially—and Yugoslavia. In these areas, except Greece, the church is in at least partial temporary eclipse, as in Russia.

The Protestant churches, almost from their beginning, have been split into numerous denominations and sects which, to some extent, have paralleled national and cultural divisions among peoples, but not entirely so. One associates Presbyterians with the Scotch, Episcopalians with the English, Lutherans with the Germans and Scandinavians, and so forth; but this is far from either the complete picture or an accurate identification, nor does it account for the scores of other Protestant groups which do not so nearly fit into the scheme. Of interest to cultural historians have been the classic efforts of such analysts as Max Weber and R. H. Tawney to show the relationship between the Protestant Reformation, with its religious results, and the rise of free-enterprise capitalism in northern and western

Europe. However intriguing the problem, the two reached different conclusions. It was Weber's thesis that the Protestant ethics paved the way for capitalistic enterprise as we have come to know it in connection with the industrial development of northwestern Europe, while Tawney concluded that Protestantism and capitalism were concomitant resultants of the same set of historical forces. Karl Marx, in his famed historical works, had held that religion is the expression of particular stages of development of economic organization of a society.

Religious Conflict. The Protestant churches have been in intermittent conflict with the Roman Catholic Church in Europe from the time of the Reformation. At times the conflict has become involved with civil controversies and has been an element in internal and international quarrels and wars. In several countries the division has been and remains an element in partisan political divisions. Controversies and overt conflict, from time to time and place to place in Europe, have marked the relations among various Protestant sects. Yet, the total Christian movement, regardless of denominational lines, is a characteristic element of European culture and has played an important part in the expansion of European influence to the other continents. Christianity has been one of the principal proselyting religions, and its missionaries have everywhere accompanied European exploration, conquest, and colonization.

It may be noted that there remains in Europe, especially in some parts of the Balkan States, a vestige of the Mohammedan influence, implanted in the days when the Moslem world was having its expansive period which brought its adherents far into the continent.

OTHER GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

There are a number of other characteristics in which European culture shows general resemblance as well as great diversity in particulars. It is in this continent that, historically, the ideology of nationalism had its most extreme and chauvinistic development, and military organization has reached its greatest and most efficient realization. Free enterprise as well as state capitalism, with all the related developments which they imply in social organization and patterns of thinking, has had its main maturation in Europe. Since medieval times, Europe has also been the chief center of the growth of science both as a philosophical approach to knowledge and as a set of techniques.

Class Structure. European social structure, in its broad outlines, has had a characteristic evolution. There is, in most European countries, a large peasant class of farmers, closely tied to and dependent upon the soil. In towns and cities and those rural areas where mining is important, there is a large and growing proletarian working class, having as its core numerous skilled and semiskilled industrial workers. At the top of the typical social hierarchy is a relatively small class of the wealthy, including, in many countries, the surviving elements of old aristocracy.

Notable in European societies, as in many countries of primarily European heritage, is a powerful middle class—the merchants, small industrialists, government civil workers, and professional people. It has been especially influential and prominent in the countries of northern and western Europe, and its growth has been an index of the degree of industrial and commercial development, especially where free-enterprise capitalism has prevailed. The frequent clash of interests between classes within European countries, and at times in international relations, has led to an elaborate ideology of "class war," basic to Marxian socialism and reflected in some organized movements, especially among industrial workers. In this ideology the focus of attention is most usually upon the divergent interest of the industrial proletariat and the middle-class bourgeois.

Class consciousness has been much more prevalent in Europe than in the United States in recent times as well as in historic epochs. This is in part due to the more rigid divisions between social classes in Europe as well as to the more violent nature of the class struggle in most European countries. While in the United States persons rarely identify themselves with any but the "middle class," in Europe workers are much more apt to consider themselves as proletariat and aristocrats to hold themselves openly aloof from associations with others. Special classes, as the military Junkers of Germany, long maintained a close unity and feeling of exclusive identity. Important for our study has been the tendency of the upper classes to rationalize their cohesion in terms of race, whether or not such notions had any basis in fact.

Partisan Political Structure. In general, characteristic of Europe's national populations has been the complexity of partisan political organization. Wherever there has been the semblance of democratic processes in government, there have arisen a number of political parties reflecting the many differences already suggested as running through European ideologies and social structure, as well as others.

There are, in various countries, parties reflecting religious affiliations, parties reflecting class differences, and parties representing nationalistic aspirations. The high degree of political sophistication of European urban populations has given rise to the great political ideologies of the present and recent past—statism, laissez-faire democracy, socialism, and anarchism.

Variants and shadings of each of these, as well as various combinations of them, have also been rallying points for political organizations and movements. From the medleys of partisan groupings there has been the recent rise of one-party dictatorships, based upon force rather than democratic choice, in countries extending from the Soviet Union in the east to Spain in the west.

As a general rule, the partisan political organizations and movements are subordinate to the more general ideology of nationalism in so far as this ideology emphasizes national autonomy and the "good of the nation" as the principal goal to be achieved. This is not true of all partisan enterprises, however, for some are pointedly international in their aims. In fact, just as modern nationalism is a European cultural product, so is modern internationalism in its various aspects and phases.

The extremes to which partisan confusions can go in the European setting are perhaps best illustrated in pre- and postwar France, where dozens of political groups and "splinters" are in constant conflict, making stable government nearly impossible. Often coalitions purporting to support the current government have lasted only days or weeks, and changes in governments have been so frequent as practically to paralyze national effort. In the background of such struggle, in France and some other countries, is a strong syndicalist movement intent upon using every possible occasion to display violence and subvert orderly governmental and industrial processes.

Other Elements. The enumeration and description of elements in the European cultural heritage shared widely throughout the continent could continue indefinitely. Included among those which have had wide influence and impact throughout the world would be formal systems and codes of law and legal procedure, and less formal moral and ethical ideals. Certainly the European emphasis upon elaborate educational systems for widespread literacy and the European developments in fine arts, architecture, and literature of all kinds have had their marked effects upon the world. The very ideas of human progress and their various expressions are chiefly European cultural products. Each one of these phases of culture might well be elaborated and emphasized for particular purposes in the study of culture relations generally, and in times and places each has played a dominant part.

At the same time that European culture has made its imprint on other cultures, various European peoples have at different times been highly receptive to influences from outside Europe, as noted in the previous chapter. Thus the culture of Europe, in varying degrees, depending on time and people, has been formed to some extent by outside influences, just as it has had a more dominant place in shaping other cultures.

The invasions of Mohammedans in the Middle Ages helped pave the way for the revival of learning in Europe and the beginnings of science. The discovery and exploitation of the Americas had their strong effects upon European economies through introducing new agricultural products such as the potato, later to be such a staple in Ireland and Germany. Just as European democratic movements and revolutions influenced the colonists who were to found the United States, so did the successful American revolution have a strong impact on European politics. At present the cultural penetrations from abroad are probably at a new high mark, especially through American influence on armament development, economic organization and production, and diplomacy. In occupation zones, American and British ways are spread to an as yet unmeasurable extent by the informal as well as the formal relations between the occupation forces and the residents of the areas.

A peculiar aspect of this situation is the apparent reluctance of the Russians to permit such cultural influences to reach their own people or those of satellite countries, which is a part of the reason for the existence of the "iron curtain" designed to screen out intrusive cultural forces.

Thus it is that the peoples of Europe as well as those outside can see only a part of the probable outcome of the transitions now taking place in many aspects of the ethnic situation as it has been the heritage of the continent. There can be, of course, no return to the prewar situation of ethnic relations, and what basis there may be for future stability is not yet clear.

SUMMARY

Next to Australia, the smallest continent, Europe has a fourth of the world's population. This population has grown rapidly in the past 300 years and has provided the basis for present populations in large portions of the Americas as well as in Australia and New Zealand. The peoples of northern and western Europe have nearly completed their growth cycle, but those of southern and eastern Europe continue to expand numerically, creating strains on present intracontinental adjustments.

The expansion of European peoples has been exceeded in scope by the spread of European cultural penetration and influence in every part of the world. While there are numerous specific variations in European culture, its common elements, generalized as Western civilization, include Christianity, political sophistication, strong nationalism, highly efficient industrial, commercial, and military organization, and a middle-class-dominated social structure. Within Europe there are differences and even conflicting trends in each of these regards. These variations are superimposed upon a confusion of subracial and cultural heritages from thousands of years of migratory movements over the continent.

The polyglot nature of Europe's subracial and cultural composition is today reflected in the number of nations, mostly small in area, as well as the many unrealized nationalistic aspirations of peoples; in the profusion of languages and dialects; and in the many "minority" problems of peoples of one cultural or national heritage living in countries dominated by peoples of other cultures and nationalities. One of the most difficult and persistent of such minority problems is that of the European Jews, temporarily submerged under other problems.

There is no precise correspondence in modern Europe among such phenomena as national boundaries, cultural heritage, language, religion, race, or political ideologies, although the dominant unifying as well as divisive force at present is nationalism.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are the general physiographical characteristics of Europe?
2. How does it rank among other continents in size? In population?
3. What principal differences are found between peoples of northern and western Europe and those of eastern Europe?
4. List some of the cultural characteristics of Western civilization.
5. How has the rise of the Soviet Union affected cultural relations in the continent?
6. Describe the general class structure of European societies.
7. How do you account for the complexity of European partisan politics where democratic processes prevail?
8. Describe, in general terms, Europe's Jewish problem.
9. What stands in the way of the permanent settlement of Europe's minority problems?
10. Explain how nationalism can, at the same time, be a unifying and divisive force.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Carmen, E. D., *Soviet Imperialism: Russian Drive toward World Domination,* Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1950.

Friis, Henning, *Scandinavia: Between East and West,* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1950.

Gross, Feliks, *European Ideologies,* Philosophic Library, New York, 1948.

Kulischer, E. M., *Europe on the Move: War and Population Changes, 1917–47,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1948.

Lewis, Roy, and Angus Maude, *The English Middle Classes,* Alfred A. Knopf. Inc., New York, 1950.

LOWIE, ROBERT H., *The German People: A Social Portrait,* Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1945.

SANDERS, IRWIN T., *Balkan Village*, University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1949.

SCHECHTMAN, J. B., *European Population Transfers, 1939–1945,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1946.

SCHLESINGER, RUDOLPH, *Federalism in Central and Eastern Europe,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1945.

TYLOR, ALICE F., *The Modern World,* Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1939.

CHAPTER 11

LATIN AMERICA

LATIN AMERICA is all of the Western Hemisphere lying south of the United States. Its main subdivisions are the continent of South America, Mexico, and Central America, and the islands of the Caribbean Sea. The total area is a little more than that of the United States and Canada, while the population, according to the 1950 census and estimates, is about 156 million, slightly more than that of the United States. Average population density is considerably less than that for North America and Europe, and slightly less than that for the continent of Asia.

There are many parallels between the history of Latin America on the one hand, and of the United States and Canada on the other. Both areas were discovered, explored, conquered, and colonized by Europeans at about the same time. Like the United States, most Latin-American countries had their wars of independence and subsequent nationalistic developments as republics, although the term has somewhat different connotations north and south of the Rio Grande.

There have also been somewhat different phases of development; especially are these notable in racial and cultural relations. Quantitatively, the principal racial component of most of Latin America is Amerindian, and secondarily, Mediterranean Caucasoid, while the peoples of the United States and Canada are mostly Nordic European in ancestry, with only slight Indian admixture. Culturally, the Latin-American peoples are predominantly Spanish and Portuguese Roman Catholic, while those of the northern countries of the Americas are Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

After such generalizations have been noted, it must be recognized that Latin America, itself, shows sharp regional contrasts. The southernmost countries, Argentina and Uruguay, are almost entirely European Caucasoid in population, while in Bolivia and Guatemala the people are chiefly "unmixed" Amerindian. Brazil and the Caribbean Islands have large Negro and mulatto elements, and very little Indian, in their racial composition. Most of the remainder—indeed, most of Latin America—is referred to as "mestizo" America because of its large, often predominant, proportion of mixed European and Amerindian population.

A sharp contrast might well be drawn between the large metropolitan cities—Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, and others—which have great outward resemblance to cities of Europe, and the remote rural areas where culture remains largely aboriginal and only slightly influenced as yet by tenuous contacts with the rest of the world.

PHYSIOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The locations of various subdivisions of Latin America have been important to some aspects of its varying cultural development. Most of South America lies east of North America (as well as south). The most easterly projection of Brazil is closer to Spain than to New York and is less than half as far from African soil as the North Atlantic ports of the United States are from England. Thus, for geographic reasons, among others, South America has tended to maintain closer cultural ties with Europe than has the United States. On the other hand, the Caribbean Islands, Mexico, and to a lesser extent, Central America, have been strongly influenced by their proximity to the United States—the "colossus of the North."

Most of South America and all of Central America lie within the tropics, a factor which contributes to inhospitable climate and huge jungle-covered areas in the lowlands, although the effect is greatly modified by high elevations of considerable areas. The extreme southern part of South America borders the Antarctic zone of turbulent and frigid storms. A relatively small part of the continent is in the temperate zone, owing to its tapering shape.

The regular coast lines of South America and much of Central America and Mexico offer relatively few good harbors by comparison with the United States and Canada. There are major seaport cities with populations running well into the millions at Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, but most of the cities are inland. These conditions have discouraged the development of coastwise traffic on any considerable scale, except locally. At the same time difficult terrain including the steep Andean mountains and the Brazilian jungles has blocked the development of highway and railway communications. Only with the relatively recent development of air transport has communication become easy and rapid over considerable distances. Lack of adequate transportation facilities has done much to retard industrial and commercial development and to inhibit cultural penetration of large areas.

Several river systems provide access to large portions of the South American interior. The Orinoco in Venezuela and Colombia, and the Amazon in Brazil, penetrate tropical jungle regions of sparse population and therefore have had relatively little influence on cultural contacts. The Paraná-Uruguay River systems provide avenues of communication for large portions of the interior and bring these portions largely under the cultural influence of Argentina.

Demography. South America, with an area of nearly 8 million square miles, has an average population density of about nine persons per square mile. The much smaller area of Central America and Mexico has an average density of more than twenty-five; while the Caribbean Islands, with a land area of only 92,000 square miles, has an average density of more than sixty. All these figures compare with an average density for the United States of a little less than fifty persons per square mile.

While the population of Latin America is chiefly rural, there are notable concentrations in a few large cities such as Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Mexico City, and Havana. The first four have more than a million people in each, in addition to which there are forty or more cities of more than 100,000 population. Urbanization, generally, is a continuing trend with cities growing more rapidly than rural populations.

From available evidence, the Amerindian population of Latin America was declining numerically before the first European contacts, a trend which was augmented at first by the impact of European conquest and attendant social disorganization of the native groups. However, there soon came a reversal, and most areas have had a continuous and accelerating growth of largely Indian population since. With current diminishing death rates, the population of Latin America is increasing more rapidly than that of Anglo-Saxon North America, and it will probably continue to do so indefinitely into the future. Thus, the demographic balance of the hemisphere is changing, with the probability that at a not-far-distant future time most of its people will be found south of the United States border. As will be noted later, some of the effects of this shifting balance are already being felt along the land border of the United States with Mexico in the form of migratory pressures. The greatest present and probably future growth is among the mestizo and mulatto mixed racial groups.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Spaniards and Portuguese discovered and began the conquest of Latin America a century before the French and English started their systematic invasion of what are now the United States and Canada. In fact, Spanish explorers and missionaries had penetrated hundreds of miles into what is now the American Southwest by 1540 and had established colonies on the upper Rio Grande before the founding of Jamestown. This was but one of numerous peripheral extensions of a vast three-phased enterprise, symbolized by the soldier-conqueror, the missionary-priest, and the civilian colonizer. All three were to leave their definite imprints on later patterns of racial and cultural relations.

Prehistory. All of Latin America, from the Rio Grande to Patagonia, and from the most eastern Antilles to the Pacific shore line, was peopled in pre-Columbian times. The indigenous peoples were Mongoloids whose forebears presumably had migrated from Asia by routes not yet definitely determined, and probably in successive waves extending over many centuries. In the highlands of Peru and Mexico and in the jungle area of Guatemala, these early Indians had built "civilizations," the material remains of which are now objects of great archaeological interest—large pyramids and temples, roads, aqueducts, and fortifications. They had developed large stable communities, skill in agriculture and numerous arts, knowledge of mathematics and astronomy, and calendars. Spanish explorers described them as the Aztec, Maya, and Inca "empires," as they are usually referred to today, even though they were more nearly loose federations of tribes than empires in the European sense.

Elsewhere in Latin America there were smaller scattered groups of Amerindians without developed technological skills or complex community organization. Many were, from time to time, dominated by one of the three groups named. Others were, in some cases, so isolated that even now they are but little affected by outside contacts. Each of the pre-Columbian "civilizations," Aztec, Maya, and Inca, had been built upon earlier civilizations which had flourished, probably, in the first four centuries of the Christian era.

There was probably a much greater Indian population in Latin America than in the portions of North America which now constitute the United States and Canada, but the populations, even in such concentration areas as the valley of Mexico, must have been sparse compared with what are now found in various parts of Latin America. Estimates made by early Spanish explorers and conquerors were probably greatly exaggerated and are thus of little informational value.

Colonial Period. The first impact of the Spaniards was on the Carib and Arawak tribes of the Caribbean Islands. The Europeans first tried to enslave the Indians but soon found they were poor workers in captivity. The island colonists then resorted to importation of African Negroes for slaves, as the Portuguese in Brazil did a little later.

On the mainland the conquest and exploration extended rapidly, first in Mexico and Peru, then to other areas. The soldiers destroyed the old "empires" and set up viceroyalties in their stead. The priests built missions and converted the Indians, using coercion when necessary. Great tracts of land were staked out by the *conquistadores* and the Church and were colonized largely by Indians and mestizos. Mines were opened, the better land put under cultivation, and livestock imported from Europe for the ranges and pastures. The rule of the colonies was by fiat from European monarchs and the ecclesiastical law of the Roman Catholic Church.

There developed a rigid social stratification with relatively few Europeans and their descendants forming the landed ruling aristocracy, and the great bulk of the people, mestizos and Indians, at the bottom. The gulf between the ruling class and the ruled was wide with no middle class to bridge it. The relationship between the two classes was one of peonage for the great mass, whose poverty contrasted with the wealth and power of the upper class.

Wars of Independence. Within the ruling class a rivalry developed between the Europeans, representing the direct patronage of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs, and the *creoles,* or American-born persons of European descent. This rivalry resulted in the wars of independence which freed the colonies of Latin America during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

> The struggle in Latin America was carried on against the abuses of power by Spain, and not necessarily against the use of this power as expressed in economic relations and social customs. The wars of independence were a struggle between two groups who occupied the same position in the social hierarchy; who disagreed politically as to who should control power, but who concurred, fundamentally, in all social matters. This situation and the conflicts within the same group caused a series of paradoxes that affected the political life of the continent for more than half a century. The French Revolution that produced the liberation of the middle class and swept away the power of the nobility simultaneously created the political structure necessary to guarantee the use of power by the bourgeoisie. In Latin America there was no bourgeoisie to liberate, the Creole patriciate or semi-feudal nobility consolidated its power as a result of independence. For this reason, many Latin-American authors have said that most Latin-American countries have not yet had their French Revolution. What they did was to imitate the political forms of a new class that appeared in history, when this class did not yet exist in Latin America. They did something even more singular; they left intact the economic structure that hindered the establishment of that new class.
>
> As a result of this paradoxical situation, two political phenomena occurred in the American hemisphere, radically opposed to each other. North of the Rio Grande, the thirteen British colonies gradually enlarged their original territories, reached out toward the south and west, and integrated the states that formed the North American union. To the south, the Spanish colonies gained

their independence and broke up into numerous nations. To the north, therefore, there was integration and unification; to the south, disintegration and division.[1]

Nationalism. Independence found Latin America divided into a number of nations, most of them small and all of them weak in material resources. There developed in each a strong feeling of nationalism despite the inability of each to defend itself against any strong outside aggressor. There also developed within each nation a turbulence of internal politics which frequently broke out in bloody revolt as the suppressed mestizos and Indians demanded more and more concessions from their governments. Paralleling this were numerous local but costly wars among various of the nations over their poorly surveyed boundaries.

The United States, expanding in area, population, and wealth, and with the sanction of Great Britain, proclaimed a sphere of influence over Latin America, formalized as the Monroe Doctrine, in effect a guaranty of the sovereignty of the Latin-American republics against possible European threats. This doctrine was violated several times but without lasting effect.

There are now twenty republics in Latin America having populations ranging from a few more than a million to nearly 50 million, in the case of Brazil. The economy remains largely extractive and agricultural. All the countries are predominantly Roman Catholic. In general, their standards and levels of living are low compared with those of the United States, and there is still a large gap between the wealthy and powerful few and the impoverished masses. But there has been a steady, although slow, growth of the middle class to bridge the gap, and an increasing drift of power to the mestizo and allied groups, the "underdogs" of the socioeconomic stratification.

Generally speaking, the birth and death rates are higher than in the United States and Canada, and with the decline of death rates in many areas in recent years, natural increase has been rapid. Prospects are that this trend will continue, and Latin-American populations will grow much more rapidly for a number of decades than the population north of the Rio Grande. Some beginnings have been made in industrialization, with promise for further such development in the future, especially as obstacles to cheap and rapid transportation can be overcome.

RACES OF LATIN AMERICA

The three basic racial elements in Latin America are the aboriginal Amerindians, the European Caucasoids, and the Negroes. During the long centuries of living together, these races have mixed widely and relatively freely, with the consequence that the great majority of Latin Americans are mixtures of two or all three of the basic elements. The degree of mixture and the racial composition vary considerably from country to country and from region to region. The Indians have been heterogeneous in racial characteristics from the beginning. They differ widely in stature, skin coloration, facial features, and other obvious somatic traits. Possibly some of these variations point to very early racial mixture, and many are results of relative isolation under differing environmental conditions. The Europeans have been mainly of the Mediterranean subrace, but they, too, from the beginning, presented a variety of physiological types, as did the peoples of Spain and Portugal from whom they descended. The Negroes, although somewhat selected for type in the slave trade, also present considerable differences. The mixture of these stocks through centuries has greatly increased the range in somatic characteristics, with the further complication that recent migrations have brought numerous Italians, northern Europeans, and some Asiatics into several areas of Latin America.

---

[1] Miguel Jorrin, *The Governments of Latin America,* by permission of the author.

The Mestizo. The term *mestizo* refers to those of mixed Caucasoid and Amerindian race, but it has also taken on cultural, political, and economic connotations. The mestizos numerically constitute the major portion of the Latin-American people and are economically disadvantaged as a group. Exact enumeration of the mestizos is impossible, for there is often no way of knowing in which cases racial mixture has or has not taken place, or exactly what racial components have gone into mixed peoples. Yet, rough approximations have been attempted and, according to them, a dozen countries of Central and South America are presumed to contain enough mestizos to make up half or more of the population. Each of the twenty Latin-American republics contains some, and with two exceptions—Argentina and Uruguay—the mestizos are a considerable population element. They range from those who are nearly Indian and are indistinguishable in physiological characteristics from their aboriginal neighbors to those so nearly European that they cannot be distinguished, on the basis of such characteristics, from Europeans of the same area. As a general rule, the mestizo skin pigmentation is darker than that of the European and somewhat lighter than that of the Indian, but the range is great, as it is in other physical characteristics.

Geographically, the mestizo countries are mainly those of the northern and western parts of Latin America. They include, notably, Mexico, Guatemala, and Peru, which were centers of considerable Amerindian population concentrations in the pre-Columbian era.

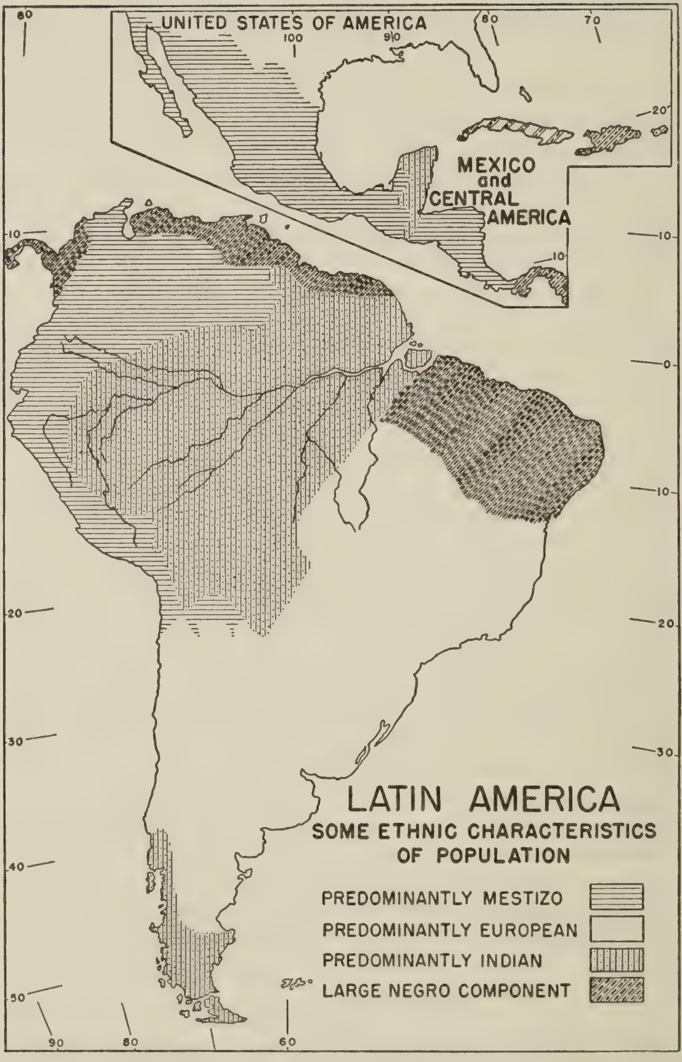
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
MEXICO and CENTRAL AMERICA
LATIN AMERICA
SOME ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION
PREDOMINANTLY MESTIZO
PREDOMINANTLY EUROPEAN
PREDOMINANTLY INDIAN
LARGE NEGRO COMPONENT
80
100
90
80
70
20
10
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
90
80
60

Fig. 5

Europeans. Next to the mestizo, Caucasoid Europeans make up the most numerous population group in Latin America, and they are found in considerable numbers in all countries. They include mostly those of the Mediterranean type from southern Europe, with both the uniformities and the variations that their European forebears would imply. The great preponderance of Europeans not considered as mestizo are to be found in Argentina and Uruguay in South America, and in Costa Rica in Central America. In these countries the proportions of Indians and other racial elements is very small. The population of the largest of the Latin-American countries, Brazil, has Negro and mulatto elements much greater than those of Indian and mestizo characteristics. In other Latin-American countries the Europeans are in the minority, being overshadowed by mestizos in most instances; in others, by Indians; and on some of the Caribbean Islands, by Negroes.

The Indians. Throughout most of Latin America there are still large populations of Amerindians, supposedly unmixed, as yet, with other races. Of course there can be no certainty on this matter in any particular case, but it is generally assumed to be true. Two countries, Bolivia and Guatemala, are presumed to be predominantly Indian, in the sense of having a

Approximate Populations of Major Political Subdivisions of Latin America

COUNTRY	POPULATION	COUNTRY	POPULATION
Latin America	140,000,000	South America	100,000,000
Mexico and the Caribbean	40,000,000	Argentina	13,000,000
Mexico	20,000,000	Bolivia	3,350,000
Cuba	4,250,000	Brazil	45,000,000
Guatemala	3,000,000	Chile	4,750,000
Honduras	2,500,000	Colombia	9,000,000
British Dependencies (British West Indies, Bermuda, British Honduras, Trinidad)	2,300,000	Ecuador	3,000,000
U.S. Dependencies (Virgin Islands, Canal Zone, Puerto Rico)	1,900,000	Paraguay	1,000,000
		Peru	7,000,000
		Uruguay	2,250,000
		Venezuela	3,500,000

SOURCE: Based on *Statistical Yearbook of the League of Nations,* 1939–1940, League of Nations, Geneva, 1940.

majority of Indians, unmixed, in their populations. For the other countries, the proportions of Indians range from nearly half the population in Peru to an insignificantly small number in Argentina.

> The five countries with the largest populations of civilized or sedentary Indians are Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. In varying degree, and with different basic policies, all have endeavored to deal with the important problem presented by this underprivileged and basically static group. In all there is a basic conflict between those who would continue the Indian in his present dependent status as a cheap, if inefficient, labor force, and those more liberal leaders of opinion who would raise the Indian to full political and economic citizenship. Between these two opinions are those extreme partisans of *Indianismo* who would recognize the Indians as a group apart from the normal currents of national life, and who would stimulate a revival of their native culture, to be based on a self-sufficient Indian economy.
>
> Mexico presents an outstanding example of attempts to reestablish the Indians in a position that conforms to their relative numbers in the population and with their early importance in the history of the land. In Mexico, as elsewhere, this policy represents a radical reversal of economic and social trends that have long governed national society. In adopting this policy, the Mexican Revolution, which began in 1911, has not only restored the natural unity and sequence of Mexican history that was broken by the Spanish conquest, but has thereby given realistic expression to the fact that Mexico has remained a predominantly Indian country. The policy has been haltingly followed at times by various governments of the Republic, but took its most clear-cut form in the Zapatista revolt in Morelos and was uncompromisingly promoted in the Cárdenas regime.[2]

Another description of the peoples of Central America gives even stronger emphasis to the importance of the Indian element which is often largely concealed under the term *mestizo*.[3]

> The original Indian population has remained basic to all the Central American nations. For three hundred years, and until the beginning of the nineteenth century, immigration was officially limited to citizens of Spain, except in one area where Britain successfully maintained a colony and exercised a protectorate over the Indians. Spanish blood, therefore, was the only significant European contribution to the racial stock of the entire area until the coming of independence to Central America in the 1820's. At that time immigration from European sources practically ceased. In the last 30 years small colonies of Germans and Italians have settled in certain parts of Guatemala and Honduras, and other European colonies have been encouraged, but with little success. It is probable that two thirds of the entire population are of part Indian,

[2] William Lytle Schurz, *Latin America; A Descriptive Survey*, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, 1941, p. 81.

[3] Fred A. Carlson, *Geography of Latin America*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, rev. ed., 1943, pp. 429–430.

part Spanish ancestry, with the Indian predominating except in Costa Rica—the one white nation of Central America—where Spanish blood prevails. In Costa Rica a considerable majority of the population are of pure Spanish descent. This is especially true in the highland area. In the more heavily forested lowland fastnesses are many Indian groups which have had only casual contact with the whites.

Negroes, who originally were imported into the West Indies, were brought to Central America in very much smaller numbers. They settled primarily along the eastern coast, where they mingled freely with the Indian population. They are at present a significant, but not a dominant element in the population. During the construction of the Panama Canal, large numbers of Jamaican and Haitian Negroes came to the isthmus as contract laborers, and numbers of them remained after the canal was finished. Similarly, several East Indian and Chinese merchants settled in the canal cities of Panama, where they absorb most of the tourist trade.

The Negro. The African slave trade which brought the Negroes to North America also brought millions of them to the islands of the Caribbean and to parts of South and Central America. As a result, at present such islands as Haiti and Jamaica have a majority of Negroes and near-Negro mulattoes in their populations. Brazil, Colombia, and Panama have substantial Negro and mulatto populations.

The largest number of Latin-American Negroes are found in Brazil where the slave trade flourished after it had been stopped in the United States, and freeing of the slaves came somewhat later, in 1888. Nevertheless, accommodation and assimilation have proceeded more rapidly, as far as Negroes are concerned, in Brazil than in the United States.

Some insight into the interracial situation in Brazil is graphically given by one writer: [4]

> The widespread dispersion of Negro blood in the *branco* (white) group obviously makes it difficult for the members to draw sharp, clear-cut racial distinctions. Relatively few pure Europeans, as we have seen, exist. And if rigid distinctions were made between those individuals who appear to be Europeans and those who in their color and features indicate some African lineage, the dividing line in many cases passes directly through family groups. The natural ties which ordinarily grow up between brothers and sisters constantly militate against such distinctions. In like manner similar ties in the United States tend to undermine nationality distinctions and to fuse together in sentiment and attitude individuals of, for example, English, Danish, French, Czech, and Italian origin. "It is difficult to keep the colors distinct in Bahia," said a *branco* educator. "Look at this boy of mine; he's white! and this girl; she is, you might say, a bit of mulatta!" A prominent political figure who is com-

---

[4] Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil: A Study of Race Contacts in Bahia,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1942, p. 134.

monly considered white but shows slight traces, especially in his hair, of African ancestry, has a wife who is also considered white, but similarly also possesses slight indications of African origin. Of their nine children, all except three, possibly four, could readily "pass" in the United States. Each of the others shows slight evidences of African lineage. Said the father, playfully, as he caressed a small daughter, "Here's a typical mulatta." The sense of this remark seemed similar to that of a father in the United States saying, "Look at my little blue-eyed girl," or, "Here's a real brunette."

Orientals. In recent decades there has been a small but steady immigration of Orientals, mainly Chinese and Japanese, into various parts of Latin America, which, in light of the international alignments of the Second World War and since, has been a concern which is far out of proportion to their numbers. In theory, racially akin to the Amerindians, the immigrant Orientals have found little affinity for the American aborigines and have tended, both from inclination and because of external pressures, to settle in closely knit and exclusive groups and communities.

Brazil has been a focal point for Japanese immigration, although considerable numbers have also come into several other countries, including Peru, Bolivia, and Mexico. The total number of Orientals in Latin America is probably less than 1 million, or a fraction of 1 per cent of the population. Their accommodation has been mainly rural and agricultural, and they appear to have entered less than other racial groups into the general amalgamation of racial stocks. This probably is due largely to their late arrival in Latin America.

CULTURAL ADJUSTMENTS

As each of the preceding chapters has shown, the complete separation of racial from cultural adjustments and problems is impossible. It has already been shown that racial groupings also have cultural implications as well as socioeconomic significance everywhere, even in the relatively tolerant atmosphere of Brazil. But in so far as the cultural may be distinguished, several important factors characterize Latin America generally, especially when one thinks in terms of comparison with Anglo-Saxon North America.

First: In most of Latin America there is a stronger survival of aboriginal culture traits and complexes.

Second: Seemingly a paradox, Latin America has retained much closer ties with European culture, especially the Latin cultures of Europe as represented by the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Italian.

Third: As has been noted in relation to most of the peoples and areas thus far described, widespread poverty enters as a conditioning force in all cultural relations and developments in Latin America to a greater extent than is generally true in the United States and Canada.

Especially in recent decades, the ethnic variety of Latin America has been increasing, bringing more complex intercultural problems. This is true in varying degrees of different countries and perhaps is most notably apparent in the case of Brazil. One brief description of this increasing complexity reads: [5]

> Brazil is a vast country and has been colonized, as has the United States, by a wide variety of peoples: Germans from northern Europe; Latins, particularly Italians, from southern Europe; not to mention the original settlers, the Portuguese. It has been colonized more recently by Orientals. There are probably some two hundred thousand Japanese in Brazil today. With the exception of the Italians, these different peoples have been settled in more or less closed communities in widely separated parts of the vast territory. Dependent upon water transportation rather than upon rail to maintain economic and political unity, Brazil has been haunted by the fear that the country would some day fall apart. Under these circumstances it has seemed that the security and the solidarity of the nation depended upon its ability to assimilate and ultimately to amalgamate its different immigrant populations. From this point of view, the Negro has not constituted a problem.

Nationalism. In Latin America nationalism is both stronger and weaker than in the northern countries of North America; ideologically it is more vociferous, practically it is weak. As Preston E. James has reported: [6]

> The problems to be faced differ widely in various parts of Latin America. National coherence is amazingly difficult to establish in predominantly Indian countries such as Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. It is much less difficult in racially homogeneous countries like Chile and Paraguay; in some, like Uruguay, compactness of area eliminates a number of the difficulties faced by the other countries in which the clusters of population are more widely separated. In many of the countries the most effective method of securing order seems to be through the operation of a military dictatorship, or some other form of strong central authority; but in Costa Rica and Colombia, the political power, the rewards of economic activity, the opportunities for gaining positions of prestige are open to a relatively large proportion of the population. Today both Costa Rica and Colombia might be described as democracies. Yet to use such a designation could be very misleading. For in none of the Latin American countries does fascism, totalitarianism, communism, or democracy exist in exactly the European or North American sense. The use of these terms can bring only obscurity.

Obviously, then, Latin America is not a unit. The word "Latin" applied to America describes no common culture, no common race, not even a common language. It can be used to describe a geographical area, no small part of which is occupied by non-Latin peoples; and it can be used to describe the civilizations built by Spain and Portugal through the common historical experiences of colonization in a new land, of the subjugation of the technologically primitive peoples already on the new land, and of the exploitation for quick profit of the resources of the new land.

---

[5] R. E. Park, *Race and Culture,* The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1950, p. 202.

[6] *Latin America,* rev. ed., copyright 1942, 1950 by The Odyssey Press, Inc., New York, p. 767.

Language. One of the most obvious of cultural attributes is language. For most of the people of Latin America, Spanish is the official and accepted tongue, even though it is variously spoken and used. This not only indicates a degree of cultural unity, but it also emphasizes cultural ties with Spain, both historic and currently, although the historic aspect is of chief significance.

In Brazil, however, it is Portuguese that is the official and generally used language, and in some areas of the Caribbean it is French. In all areas bordering on the United States, English is increasingly current and an intrusive element where other languages are spoken, but it is usually a corrupt form of English, adapted to the major tongue.

In all those areas with large Indian and mestizo populations the use of Indian languages and dialects remains important and has greatly modified the Spanish as spoken in such countries. Many Indian groups know little Spanish or other European language, and they communicate chiefly, often almost exclusively, in the native aboriginal dialects.

Religion. Latin America is predominantly Roman Catholic in religion, and there are relatively few Protestant Christians. As elsewhere in the world, the Roman Catholic religion has been flexible and adaptable, so that it has merged imperceptibly with the native religions of the areas where Indian and mestizo peoples are important population elements. Many Indians and mestizos are bireligious, that is, they cling to their native beliefs and rituals and at the same time espouse Roman Catholicism. In Mexico, notably, many of the native Indian religious beliefs and practices have been woven into the Catholic and now form, locally and regionally, a part of the Roman Catholic practice and faith.

While there is this general acceptance of Catholicism in Latin America, it is also true that the Roman Catholic Church has become so identified with political and social problems that the Church has been a principal target of reformers and reform movements in many countries. The Revolution, as the term is used in these Latin-American countries, has usually included the organized church among the portions of the *status quo* against which revolution has been directed. This has been a reflection of the historical fact that the Church became a focus of wealth and an extensive owner and controller of land and other properties, a condition which agrarian revolutionists have considered an obstacle to general welfare and economic development

Other Cultural Characteristics. The rural communities of most of Latin America live in what is often referred to as "folk culture" in distinction to modern technologically advanced urban cultures, on the one hand, and to tribal cultures on the other. A folk culture is community- and family-centered; indeed, the smaller communities are often simply extended family organizations. In this regard there is close resemblance to the ancient Chinese culture as described in a previous chapter. The strong family organization is patriarchal, with authority over women and children residing in the elder males, and a general subordination of women to men in most affairs. This arrangement is offset, to some extent, by property and inheritance systems, with "community" rights of property residing in husband and wife equally, and equal sharing of inherited property by children, legitimate and illegitimate. The Latin-American folk culture is deeply rooted in the land, a fact which has led to widespread social disorganization and misery when land ownership has been highly centralized in the wealthy aristocracy and the Church. Such situations have given strength to agrarian organizations and movements.

The community also has special significance in Latin-American folk societies. In fact, among pre-Columbian Indians in Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere, part or all land ownership resided in the village community, a practice which later Spanish laws recognized and, to some extent, perpetuated. The present-day *ejido* of Mexico, one fruit of the agrarian movement in that country, as well as similar land reforms in other places, embodies much of the earlier communal notion of ownership and cultivation of the soil.

Students of Latin-American folk cultures have stressed the lack of emphasis upon time, in contrast to the Anglo-Saxon culture of North America, especially. The notion that many tasks and issues may be postponed to an indefinite *mañana* (tomorrow), the daily *siesta* in warmer climates, and the frequent feast days (*fiestas*) are probably exaggerated as to their significance, at least in so far as they are presumed to indicate innate laziness or irresponsibility. The Latin-American peoples of the lower economic levels work hard and long hours by comparison with American standards; and they are, in most cases, devoted to family, community, and Church.

There runs through the Latin-American folk culture a strong element of fatalism. One distinguishing mark is the acceptance of poverty and hardships as natural and normal, decreed by God, which is closely akin to the deeply religious faith of the people, a faith which the Revolution has not changed significantly. Indeed the church edifice is still the chief landmark of most Latin-American communities, and the ringing of church bells a characteristic sound.

The Revolution. For several generations the Revolution has been in progress in most Latin-American countries, signifying, usually, a peaceful but radical type of change; at other times and sporadically, involving violent overthrow of existing regimes. There is no Anglo-Saxon North American counterpart of the Revolution which, in Latin America, combines a number of seemingly discrete forces and elements into a single and continuing movement. It is, in part, militant nationalism in revolt against foreign interference; in part, agrarian revolt against great land holdings; in part, artistic revolt against constraining traditions; and in part, practical politics.

The Revolution is gradually bringing about changes in the social stratification to the advantage of the impoverished peon classes, mainly Indians and mestizos. Yet, the class differences remain extreme, by comparison with those of Anglo-Saxon North America. Lawrence Griswold describes the situation: [7]

> Latin America's social strata fall regrettably but conveniently into four general classifications. The uppermost is composed, in the main, of a relatively small number of *criollo* families whose incomes are derived from the large estates of prerevolutionary Spanish or Portuguese grants. The second stratum is made up of resident foreigners and retired politicians. This stratum is by no means a middle class, although more numerous than the preceding group, but it helps to complete the average five per cent of Latin America which is both literate and well-to-do. The third stratum includes most of the remaining ninety-five per cent and consists of peons whose poverty generally exceeds that of Oklahoma sharecroppers. The fourth stratum is made of completely indifferent aboriginal Indians. The number of native artisans and skilled laborers in Latin America is so small as not seriously to disturb these proportions. There is no middle class.

Even in Brazil, where racial distinctions, as such, are minimized, they do, in fact, enter into the social stratification.

> Miscegenation always takes place between racial groups inhabiting the same region, no matter how great may be the antagonism between them. With the relative lack of racial antagonism in Brazil, mixture between the three racial stocks has occurred with unusual frequency. There are mixtures of every conceivable degree and combination of the three basic elements. Only among descendants of the old aristocracy do people claim pure Caucasian descent and even these "old families" speak with pride of a distant Indian ancestor. This does not mean that it is common to see the blond descendant of a German immigrant married to a Negro; one usually sees a man and wife of nearly

---

[7] *The Other America,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1941, p. 10.

the same color. Most Negroes and people of mixed ancestry are poorer and less well educated than people of European descent. Many *mesticos* (both mulattoes and *caboclos*) live in the interior; most of them are descendants of rural farmers and therefore do not have the educational advantages and socio-financial position of the urban whites. The Negro slaves were freed only a little more than fifty years ago and their descendants are still poor. The children of poor people either do not attend school or leave early to earn a living. Therefore, in Brazil we have the familiar picture of the upper class being made up predominantly of European whites, and the lower class of people of darker skin. As a well-known Brazilian sociologist wrote, "The darker the skin, the lower the class, as a rule." In contrast to the United States, however, this is a socio-economic arrangement of classes, not a caste system. In Brazil, when a person of mixed ancestry does climb the ladder of success, he does not come up against an unsurmountable color barrier. In the United States, anyone with a small percentage of Negro blood is considered a Negro; but in Brazil, as the popular saying goes, "Anyone who escapes being a Negro is a white." In some parts of the country, the expression branco (white) describes a social status rather than a skin color. The popular expression which Donald Pierson quotes: "A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro," although exaggerated as a popular saying is apt to be, expresses the sociological facts of the prevailing racial attitude.[8]

Economy. As has been noted previously, the economy of Latin America remains primarily agrarian and extractive, and in this regard closely resembles colonial economies as they persist in many parts of the world. There have been significant beginnings toward industrialization in some countries and regions, however, and these were greatly augmented by the two World Wars which temporarily, in each case, cut off most of Latin America from some of their accustomed sources of manufactured goods.

Probably the most important developments in this direction have been in Brazil, where sizable factories and industrial plants have been put into operation. The principal handicap to their development, as to industrial development elsewhere in Latin America, has been the lack of adequate cheap and quick transportation needed to bring natural resources together at plants and to carry finished products to markets.

Despite the relative lack of development of industry, many Latin-American countries have strong organized labor movements, which are an important part of the political as well as of the economic picture in these countries. These labor movements have been militant and strongly nationalistic in the sense of attempting to exclude foreign competition from the labor markets and of trying to prevent exploitation of local resources from abroad. Where the labor movements are strongest, they are usually allied with agrarian forces.

---

[8] Charles Wagley in Ralph Linton (ed.), *Most of the World,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1949, pp. 223–224.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

The cultural dynamics of Latin America have long been strongly influenced by the political and economic position of the United States in the Western Hemisphere. This influence has been both welcomed and strongly resented, the intensity of each type of response varying with time, area, and local conditions. To the presumably more progressive elements, in the sense of more advanced economically, assistance in the form of capital and credits from the United States has been considered a great boon, but in other classes throughout Latin America there is a strong and persistent undercurrent of resentment against "yanqui" (Yankee) interference. This latter feeling results partly from historical experiences in which the United States has used its major economic and political strength to interfere in the political affairs of various countries to the extent of sending armed forces to coerce or threaten. Because the interest of the United States has been determined, in part at least, by American investments in Latin America, her national concern has been largely on the side of stability, which has usually meant that her support has gone to the support of an existing *status quo* in the face of growing popular support of the Revolution in many areas.

In those countries lying nearest to the United States there has been an additional irritant contributing to distrust and bad feeling in the treatment, actual or reported, of the nationals of those countries when they migrate to the United States.

Mexico. The one Latin-American country with a land frontier shared with the United States is Mexico. For this reason influences stemming from the United States have penetrated far into Mexican culture, especially in urban centers and districts accessible to American trade and tourists. The Mexican economy is at all times dependent largely upon that of the United States, and Mexico, to a greater extent and more frequently than other Latin-American countries, has felt the military and political power of the United States. The revolt of Texas against Mexican rule, followed by the Mexican War of 1846, resulted in the forced cession of a large part of Mexican territory which now makes up most of the United States Southwest. On several other occasions, American battleships and armed forces have been sent against Mexico on coercive missions. These events have become deeply rooted as resentments in Mexican thought.

To such historical grievances have been added numerous misunderstandings which have grown out of the exploitation of various Mexican resources by American individuals and corporations, the discriminations against Mexican immigrants in some parts of the United States, and the frequent frictions involved in policing and patrolling the long land border between the two countries. Nevertheless, the migration of Mexicans, mainly unskilled laborers, into the United States has grown steadily, both that which is legal and that of the "wetbacks" or illegal migrants. In fact, since the end of large-scale immigration from Europe, Mexico has become an important source of relatively low-priced labor for both agriculture and industry in the United States. On the other hand, there is a large, growing, and, from the Mexican standpoint, lucrative flow of tourists from the United States into Mexico.

While the basic attitude of Mexicans toward the United States is one of suspicion, and often hostility, there is also great admiration for the United States and Americans. The Anglo-Saxon influence in Mexican communities, especially along the more traveled tourist and trade routes, is notable. It is reflected in the architecture of the business centers of growing towns, in stores offering American goods, in the spread of Rotary, Kiwanis, and similar organizations, and in the intrusion of English terms and American expressions (often distorted) into the Spanish spoken in Mexico. Recently there was even a large-scale attempt to introduce league baseball into Mexico.

There is a strong racial and cultural affinity, as will be noted more fully in a later chapter, between large segments of the population of the United States and the Mexicans, especially along the international boundary.

The Caribbean Islands. Several hundred islands form the northern and eastern fringe of the Caribbean Sea and make up a part of the general area of Latin America, and these, like Mexico, are of special significance because of their proximity and strategic importance to the United States. Their total population is somewhat more than 10 million people, and it appears to be growing rapidly as improvements in sanitation, medical practice, diet, and working conditions bring a rapid decline in the islands' historically high death rate. These islands differ in several respects from most of Latin America. In them the aboriginal Indians have been virtually exterminated, leaving practically no trace, apparently, in the present population; on the other hand there is a much greater proportion of Negroes. In fact, two of the larger islands, Haiti and Jamaica, contain a majority of Negroes and predominantly Negroid mulattoes.

Largest of the islands is Cuba, with a population of 4.5 million persons, mostly of European descent, although the proportion of Negroes and mulattoes is considerable. Among the other larger islands, one is shared uneasily by Haiti and Santo Domingo, both having considerable Negro elements; while another, Puerto Rico, largely Spanish in population and culture, has a population showing a large Negro admixture. Jamaica, with nearly 2 million people, is the principal British colony in the group and, as previously noted, is chiefly Negro and mulatto in population.

These islands, like the remainder of Latin America, had a pre-Columbian population of Amerindians, the Caribs and Arawaks. They were practically exterminated when early Spanish colonists attempted to force them into slavery. As they diminished in numbers, Negro slaves were brought in from Africa for labor on plantations and in mines; and later these islands became important way stations in the large slave trade between Africa and North America. It was on the island of Haiti, then a French colony, that Negro slaves staged their only permanently successful revolt in the Western world. In various islands and parts of them, Spanish, English, or French is the principal language, with Spanish ranking far ahead of the other languages. The islands are predominantly Roman Catholic in religion, although on some there persists a considerable following, as well, of old voodoo rites, presumably imported from Africa with the Negro slaves. The economy is mainly agrarian and colonial in its dependence upon other economies; and most of the population lives at a low level of poverty.

The islands of the Caribbean, lying across the approaches to the Panama Canal and near the mainland of the United States, are variously independent, colonies of European nations, or, as in the case of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, territories and possessions of the United States. Despite the variety of political statuses, the United States, for more than 50 years, has left no doubt of concern with their strategic importance and has not hesitated to keep them under close political scrutiny or to intervene in their affairs when and to the extent that seemed needed for the security of the United States and its interests. In many cases the intervention of the United States and the maintenance of military and naval outposts there have been important economic and cultural influences in the islands.

Other Areas. There are other European colonies in Latin America, notably the Guianas on the northeastern coast of South America. In area and population they are relatively insignificant. They have lagged behind most of Latin America in economic development, largely because of their unfavorable climatic conditions and, to a lesser extent, because of the colonial policies under which they have existed.

Central America, because of relative proximity to the United States, has been, in varying degrees and at different times, under American influence and domination. This is most especially true of the Republic of Panama because of its strategic location in regard to the Panama Canal. In South America, farther removed, the influence of the United States has been less direct and penetrating, and this is truer the farther one gets from the United States. Argentina, the country most distant from the United States, has been least affected.

SUMMARY

Latin America, encompassing a continent, a sizable part of another, and a large group of islands, has in common its mainly Spanish and Portuguese cultural heritage and has maintained closer cultural ties with Europe than has been true of Anglo-Saxon North America. There has been, in most of Latin America, a greater racial and cultural survival of the Amerindians who were the pre-Columbian population of the Americas. There has been relatively free racial intermixture between Europeans and Amerindians over several centuries which has resulted in a mestizo population, mainly Indian in racial heritage, which forms a majority in the population of some countries and a considerable element in some others. But there is a wide range between the extremes—Argentina and Uruguay at one end, with almost unmixed European peoples, and at the other, several countries, as Bolivia and Peru, where the majority of the people are Indians.

The third principal racial element is the Negro, descended from slaves, which makes up a majority in two Caribbean Islands, and a large portion of the population in the largest Latin-American country, Brazil. Where Negroes are found in large numbers, notably in Brazil, there has been much intermixture, resulting in large numbers of mulattoes who, to some extent, resemble mestizos in social position and significance.

The principal languages of Latin America are Spanish and Portuguese, although many native Indian dialects are spoken locally. The dominant religion is Roman Catholic, although both Indians and Negroes professing Catholicism often practice their own native rites. The economy of Latin America is chiefly agrarian and extractive, resembling colonial economy in other parts of the world. Everywhere poverty enters as a strong conditioner of all social characteristics.

The social stratification has been historically one in which a relatively few at the top of the socioeconomic scale, usually Europeans and their descendants, have been separated by a wide gulf from the great majorities at the bottom, Indians, mestizos, and Negroes.

Fairly recent immigrations have brought into some parts of Latin America groups of Germans, Italians, and Orientals. The latter two groups, not because of numbers but because of their tendency to settle in their own somewhat exclusive communities, have caused concerns which were intensified in wartime.

Touching all Latin-American cultural affairs is the dominance of the Western Hemisphere, politically and economically, by the United States. This domination is felt with resentment by many, and especially in the areas most nearly bordering on the United States where it is felt most strongly. Mexico, the one Latin-American country with a land border with the United States, and with a common cultural heritage with a considerable area lying on and near the border on the American side, has especially resented American intrusions, even though Mexico is highly dependent upon, and in many ways benefits from, the economy of the United States.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is the present population of Latin America? What are the demographic trends?
2. Describe in general terms the racial composition of the population.
3. What are the principal cultural characteristics of the Latin-American peoples?
4. How do you account for the continued European cultural influence in most of Latin America?
5. Which areas have been largely under the cultural influence of the United States?
6. What is the meaning of "mestizo America"?
7. How do racial relations in Brazil differ from those in the United States?
8. How have recent changes in continental demographic balance affected the United States?
9. How does the Indian problem differ north and south of the Rio Grande?
10. What physiographic features have retarded the industrialization of Latin America?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bryce, James, *South America,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1912.

Carlson, Fred A., *Geography of Latin America,* rev. ed., Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1943.

Embree, John F., *Indians of the Americas,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1939.

GRISWOLD, LAWRENCE, *The Other America,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1941.

JAMES, PRESTON E., *Latin America,* The Odyssey Press, Inc., New York, 1942.

LINTON, RALPH (ed.), *Most of the World,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1949.

PIERSON, DONALD, *Negroes in Brazil: A Study of Race Contacts in Bahia,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1942.

SCHURZ, WILLIAM LYTLE, *Latin America; A Descriptive Survey,* E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, 1941.

CHAPTER 12

CANADA

Occupying most of the northern half of North America and stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Canada has a somewhat unique situation as far as population and intergroup relationships are concerned. It is a country with a significant double orientation: the one toward the British Islands and Europe, with which ties of tradition and nationalistic loyalty remain strong; the other toward the United States, both demographically and economically. The dominion status of Canada symbolizes ties of loyalty to Britain to the reality of which an abundance of evidence was provided in the two World Wars; but these bonds do not imply subservience, and for all practical purposes, except in the emergency of international conflict, Canada realistically may be considered an independent and self-governing nation. Economically, it has both obvious and subtle ties with the United States. The Canadian economy is largely agricultural and extractive, reflecting, in part, a long period of colonial subordination to England, but in recent decades industrialization has progressed rapidly. This development is closely interrelated with the industry of the United States in numerous ways, and to some extent it can be considered as an expansion from south of the American-Canadian border. Subtler phases of the economic interrelationship are reflected in the occupational flow of peoples across the border, at points as commuters, at others as seasonal workers, and also of some groups as permanent migrants.

Like Mexico, Canada has a long land frontier shared with the United States, and this fact has had an even larger influence on Canada's history than has the Mexican border on the history of Mexico, which was discussed in the previous chapter. Instead of the land border between Canada and the United States having served as an irritant in international relations, as has often been true in the case of Mexico, it has been, for many purposes, more significant for having been ignored than as a barrier. Hansen has described the situation: [1]

---

[1] Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples,* completed and prepared by John Bartlett Brebner, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1940, Vol. I, p. ix.

Ever since French Canadians settled in the Illinois territory during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and New Englanders supplanted Acadians in Nova Scotia about the middle of the eighteenth, the populations of the regions which are now the United States and Canada have been spilling great waves of men and women into each other's territories. Anyone at all inquisitive about the distribution of human beings in North America cannot fail to have been struck by the basic American stock of the Maritime Provinces and Ontario in Canada, and millions of French Canadians in New England and New York, the traces of the Canadian in the American Middle West and of the American on the Canadian prairies, and the persistent to-and-fro movement of both stocks along the Pacific coast from Mexico to the Bering Strait. Here is a continent where international boundaries have been disregarded by restless humans for almost two centuries.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Canada is the largest of the countries of the Western Hemisphere in area, having a land surface of approximately 3,685,000 square miles, greater than that of the United States and Alaska combined. Its greatest dimensions are about 2,700 miles from east to west, and roughly 1,600 miles from north to south. A large portion of this area lies so far north as to be inhospitable to human habitation and to deter or make impossible agricultural development, but rich mineral deposits of various kinds, as well as fisheries and fur hunting, have taken some people into the frozen subarctic wastes.

Concentration. The total population of the country is about 13 million people, and the population density, on the average, is the least of all the American countries. However, the over-all average is misleading because of the considerable concentration of the Canadian people in a relatively small portion of Canada, that lying nearest the border of the United States. The three largest cities, Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg, all are within 100 miles of the international boundary.

> Huge as Canada is in total area, the *ecumene* or utilized land of the country is relatively small—375,000 square miles. . . . The greater part of the immense northern section remains an undeveloped wilderness. Though the Dominion extends over 1,500 miles from north to south, the settled area averages less than 200 miles. In fact, one-half the population lives within 100 miles of the United States boundary and 90 per cent within 200 miles. The development of mining and lumbering in the Shield and the use of the aeroplane is steadily rolling back the map of settlement, but it is still basically true that Canada is a strip of territory north of the United States.[2]

[2] A. W. Currie, *Economic Geography of Canada,* copyright 1947 by The Macmillan Company, New York, p. 1. Used with permission of the publisher.

More than half the population of Canada is urban. With a total of a few more than 13 million people, the country has several large cities, two of which have populations of about a million each—Montreal and Toronto; one-fourth of the population lives in cities of more than 100,000 people. With the current rapid industrialization, it is probable that the urbanization will continue and at an accelerated pace.

The narrow strip in which Canada's population is largely concentrated is 2,700 miles long, and in it are to be found considerable gaps separating densely populated areas. There are, throughout Canada, great differences in physiographic conditions. Along the Atlantic shore there are relatively barren areas with little soil suitable for extensive cultivation, but with numerous harbors from which fishing fleets may operate. Lying just north of New York and the New England states is what may be termed the heart of Canada, the St. Lawrence lowlands, well suited for economic diversity, with fertile lands, navigable waterways offering access to Europe as well as water power, and the greatest single concentration of Canadian population. To the west are the great prairie provinces with good soil and wide climatic variations, suitable for various types of large-scale farming. Farther west are the elevations of the Canadian Rockies, beyond which is a narrow coastal strip, heavily forested, and also adapted to the fishing industry.

Sectionalism. Historically and at present the great distances and the physiographic variations, together with relatively sparse population in considerable stretches, have presented to Canada its great national problem of maintaining Federal unity.

> The geographic sectionalism is aggravated by the difference in viewpoint between the French-speaking Canadians in Quebec and other provinces and their English-speaking compatriots. The fundamental political problem in Canada is to integrate the seven Economic Regions into one nation. "The formation of the Dominion in 1867 was a political triumph over the hard facts of geography; but the victory was not complete; geography was not annihilated. Geographic facts have again and again asserted themselves in Canadian history. Sectionalism has been a recurring phenomenon in politics and distance is an inescapable condition of economic life. The maintenance of national unity against the decentralizing tendencies of geography has been an ever-present problem of public policy alike in domestic and external affairs." [3]

The problem of Canadian unity is aggravated by other factors which, in turn, are partly results of the physiographically determined isolation of some of the population, and the continuing pioneering conditions under which many live. A tendency toward religious resistance to urban domination and control from the populous areas has repeatedly manifested itself. One writer has summarized this aspect: [4]

---

[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 2–3. Quoting in part from R. A. Mackay and E. B. Rogers, *Canada Looks Abroad,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1938.

> Regional interests which found expression in movements of political separatism are closely related to economic interests. The society of the backlands or of the urban working-class area was a debtor society. The religious sect attracted the support not only of the isolated but also of the economically depressed. It provided a cheap religion in that it did not make heavy financial demands for the support of elaborate places of worship and highly educated clergymen. Furthermore, it provided in the way of preaching appointments, occupational opportunities for young men (and, in some cases, young women) without the means for securing the training necessary for a professional career. It was the poor fishermen or farmers of Nova Scotia who early comprised the following of the Baptist Church. The debt-ridden farmers of the Upper Canadian backwoods communities rallied about the Methodist itinerant preachers. Aberhart secured his support both as a religious evangelist and as a political campaigner in that area of Alberta stretching northeast from Calgary to the Saskatchewan border, the approximate center of which is the town of Hanna. . . .

RACES AND CULTURES

Canada has considerable racial and cultural homogeneity by comparison with other countries of equal or greater size and population, even though some people of all races and many cultures may be found within its borders. More than half the people are descendants of immigrants from the British Islands, and nearly a third are of French descent. The remaining one-sixth includes mainly immigrants from other parts of Europe, but also, in smaller proportions, such diverse elements as aboriginal Indians, Eskimos, and Orientals. The number of Negroes is so small compared with the total Canadian population as to be negligible. Some relatively small groups numerically, however, have presented stubborn problems of adjustment and assimilation.

The approximate figures for the various ethnic groups in the 1931 census of Canada showed a population then of 10,400,000 of whom 5,400,000 were of British origin, about 3,000,000 of French origin, and other peoples as follows: Germans, 500,000; Dutch, 150,000; Italians, 100,000; Ukrainians, Poles, and other eastern Europeans, 500,000; Jews, 157,000; Chinese, 46,000; Japanese, 24,000; Indians and Eskimos, 130,000. The figure for those of British descent includes in itself some ethnic variety. Most of these people are English, but considerable numbers are

---

[4] S. D. Clark, "The Religious Sect in Canadian Politics," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 51, 1945, pp. 209–210.

Scotch, Irish, or Welsh. Some of this variety is reflected in the following description of a scene in Nova Scotia: [5]

> Ethnically, Nova Scotia is dominantly Scottish, although there are many French, especially among the fisherfolk. Every year at Antigonish . . . they hold Highland Games which, we are told, are more Scottish than anything in Scotland. One of the most interesting half days of our trip was spent watching the sword dance and the highland fling, tossing the caper, and listening—with mixed sensations—to competition on the bagpipe by Pipe Majors and Pipe Captains and just plain pipers! At the same time a conventional American field meet was in progress on the track.
>
> One of our surprising discoveries was that the people of the Maritime Provinces (New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia) feel themselves to be naturally a part of the United States. Economically, there is much basis for this feeling; and it is sometimes said that there are more Nova Scotians in New England than in Nova Scotia. In better times it was quite the proceeding for Canadian fishermen to migrate to the States to seek work each year after the fishing season was over. United States currency circulates freely in all parts of these provinces.

Races. Racially, more than 95 per cent of the people of Canada are Caucasoid. Although problems of adjustment between those of English and those of French descent are usually referred to in Canada as "racial," they grow rather out of the conflict of two cultures. Canada has restricted immigration from the beginning of its history in such ways as to prevent any considerable number of non-Caucasoids from entering the country. There has been no history of slave trade in Canada, as was true in the United States and Brazil, which accounts for the lack of Negroes in considerable numbers in Canada. The Amerindians and Eskimos have not increased appreciably in numbers and together make up but little more than 1 per cent of the entire population; and they are, for the most part, located in remote and relatively inaccessible areas.

By both legal immigration and illegal entry, nearly 70,000 Chinese and Japanese have become established, principally on the Pacific Coast. Their number is not a large segment of the total population, but their concentration in a limited area tends to magnify their adjustment problems; and the alignments in the Second World War drew special and suspicious attention to the Japanese of Canada, just as they did to those inhabiting the Pacific Coast of the United States.

Where racial distinctions are concerned, the color line has been rigid, and the extent of intermixture among racial groups has been very small.

---

[5] Guy W. Sarvis, "Cooperatives in Nova Scotia," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 13, 1939, p. 258.

This was less true when the descendants of the French were in contact with Indians, for at that time there appears to have been considerable amalgamation among the small numbers of people involved.

Cultures. The principal cultural division, and the one which has demanded attention far beyond others in Canada, has been that between the French and the English Canadians. While there has been a long history of partial acculturation between the two groups as they have lived side by side, the process has been slow and has been resisted at many points by the French, so that the two groups remain sharply demarcated, and often in opposition to each other. The historical background of this cultural conflict goes back to the early colonial period when Canada was a part of the French overseas empire with English colonies to the south and the English-sponsored Hudson's Bay Company operating to the north. During this early colonial period there was intermittent warfare between the French and the English made more bitter by the practice of both sides of enlisting Indians as allies. When the English finally conquered Canada and added it to the British Empire in 1763, there was an end to the warfare, but not to the cultural conflict. The formation of the Canadian federation as the Dominion of Canada in 1867 brought further unity, achieved largely by compromise between the two culture groups, but the essential division remains.

Lesser Groups. The two groups of aborigines who inhabited Canada before the French established the first Canadian colony in Acadia in 1604 consisted of widely scattered and usually small tribal groups of Indians and Eskimos. The Eskimos, in small roving bands, were limited to the far north where they remain, as yet little influenced by the white groups. The Indians lacked the strength and organization to impede seriously the French and English advances to the westward from the first few European colonies along the Atlantic seaboard and the St. Lawrence. They were exterminated or pushed back to the Far West, where they now make precarious livings on the fringe of white settlement, many as wards of the Canadian government. Their acculturation has been slow and has been greatly retarded by their poverty.

The Orientals have been largely segregated in a few urban centers or in fishing villages on the Pacific Coast. The strict color line has not prevented them from advancing economically, but it has discouraged assimilation into the dominant culture group.

Distances and isolation have prevented rapid or complete assimilation of some European immigrant groups in western Canada, and a few of them, notably the Russian Doukhobors, have been both resistant to acculturation and a source of continuous irritation to the major culture group. Most of the Doukhobors, notably the younger ones, are now at least partly assimilated, but a few remain defiantly unassimilated. One brief description illustrates this: [6]

> The Canadian people of the Grand Fork Valley regard the Doukhobors as a problem and a pest. Most of them have settled down now, the original pure communism dying out—and with it Veregin's old drive, which turned the bare bench lands into gardens. Now the Doukhobors, absorbed too well into our ways, are getting jobs at wages, are letting their orchards die for lack of water, their lands run down for lack of cultivation, their houses for lack of paint. Some still wrestle with the Spirit. In Grand Forks, at least up until recently, one of the Wrestlers used to walk about, unnoticed, with a headdress of oranges and other withered fruit, sewed into a flour sack, to mark the fact that he had been to heaven and returned with the Word. Down by the river bank, trying to grow food on the gravel soil, the exiled Sons of Freedom have settled, squatted on this useless land because the Canadianized Doukhobors do not want them. Still they refuse to accept Canadian laws, still invite the government to arrest them, still are ready to suffer for their belief in a godly anarchy. No one knows when they may come swinging down the road, men, women, and children, all naked as God made them, to scandalize the modest Canadians. The Sons of Freedom are a minor sect now, and in a few generations all the Doukhobors will fade into the Canadian Mosaic.

Despite such localized difficulties, the acculturation problems of Canada have been far simpler and less serious than have those of the United States, where the much larger and more diverse immigration from Europe and elsewhere has greatly aggravated adjustment problems at every historic period. Even the problem of the French Canadians, which has been outstanding in Canada, is shared in various parts of the United States, as previously indicated. The large concentrations of French Canadians in sections of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York have made adjustment difficulties much more acute than they would be if this immigration were widely dispersed throughout the United States or a major portion of this country.

FRENCH CANADA

French Canada is found mainly in the Province of Quebec, of which Montreal is the principal city and capital, but it includes as well scattered populations of French descent elsewhere in the country. There are more than 3 million French Canadians in Canada, between one-fourth and one-third of the total population. They are descended from the first European colonists in the country who settled in Acadia (now Newfoundland) on the Atlantic shore but who spread inland rapidly to develop trade in furs with the Indians. For more than a century and a half they held Canada as a French province, in almost continuous conflict with the English. The latter, even before the conquest of Canada, made progressively greater inroads into the country, largely displacing the French population of Acadia and otherwise intruding into the French domain, as the French, in turn, invaded deeply into British-held and -claimed areas to the south.

---

[6] Bruce Hutchison, *The Unknown Country; Canada and Her People,* copyright 1942 by Coward-McCann, Inc., New York, 1942, pp. 285–286. Reprinted by permission.

When the British took over, they found a large and firmly rooted French population. The French remained nationalistic and attached to their European homeland but were peaceable enough under British rule largely because the British left them undisturbed in their religion and other cultural ways. As Canada became more populated and developed, the French became increasingly reconciled to British rule, but with the approach of federation and dominion status they demanded that Canada be divided into two countries: one French in culture, although under the British crown; the other English. They finally agreed to a single dominion but exacted many concessions to protect their cultural identity, concessions which they have held to the present time.

The basis of French-Canadian culture is rural and agricultural, although in recent years the people have been drawn increasingly into the urban and industrial trends. While it is a French culture, it is more nearly comparable to that of France of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than it is to the France of the present day, having preserved many archaic traits and complexes in its resistance to acculturation. Characteristic of the French Canadians, and aggravating their problems, have been their high birth rate and rate of natural increase. Although for almost two centuries there has been practically no new French immigration, the proportion of the French Canadians in the population has remained about steady. As a rural population they have been relatively prosperous and economically stable, but they have consistently produced population surpluses which have served as a drag on general living levels and have also made necessary considerable emigration to cities, to non-French portions of Canada, and to the United States.

Cultural Characteristics. The predominant language in all realms of activity in French Canada is archaic French. This language had official recognition in Canadian law in that it has been given equal legal status with English in the Province of Quebec and in the national parliament. There is a considerable French literature in French Canada, and the French Canadians have their own university in Montreal.

The religion of the French Canadians is Roman Catholic, and they are a highly religious people under firm control of the Church in moral and other matters. It is a conservative type of Catholicism and pervades all aspects of the lives of the people to a considerable extent, influencing their economy and political activities notably. The Catholicism of the French Canadians stands face to face with the predominantly Protestant English culture which surrounds them, and this helps to widen the gulf between the two population elements.

While the French Canadians are rapidly becoming urbanized, their culture remains basically rural. It is a culture which emphasizes ties of the extended family and loyalty to the home parish, so that many of the French Canadians who are urban dwellers remain strongly attached to their rural homes. Especially in economic matters, the French Canadians are characteristically conservative, to the extent of resenting many of the innovations which have come with increased industrialization. They are often isolationist in world view and, on occasion, have strongly resisted conscription in times of war.

Recent Changes. As has been stated, they are being drawn more and more into the general trends of industrialization and urbanization. This has tended to increase their resentments since they find themselves disadvantaged in the new economic and financial situations. As one writer has described the current scene: [7]

> As we pass up the river to Montreal, we find the villages, the farm houses, the languages, and the traditions of France—not so much the modern France that has broken with the church, but of the older France, that has given to French literature the *curé* as the leading figure in village life. Here, with no noble in a neighboring chateau to rival his influence, he is the friend and counsellor of all in the village, and he keeps before them man's eternal destiny and his duty to God. Religion is written large on the face of these French villages. The spiritual discipline of the church is strict, and practically everyone in the district, of those confirmed, attend mass on Sunday. Yet even with traditions so enduring there is change. Families are large. Sons leave the farm for other scenes and occupations. Sixty-three per cent of the people is now urban. Montreal, with nearly a million people, is a great seaport, a thousand miles from the sea. In character it is unique. Here French and English live side by side. The French outnumber the English almost two to one. Rather to the growing resentment of the French, the banks, the railway interests that cover the whole of Canada, the industries are chiefly under English control. There are two universities, the one English, the other French. The two races

---

[7] George M. Wrong, *The Canadians; the Story of a People,* copyright 1938 by The Macmillan Company, New York, pp. 423–424. By permission of the estate of the author.

mingle but slightly in society. The cleavage, noted by the Earl of Durham a century ago, is complete, has hardly changed, though, no doubt, racial strife is less violent. While the bustle of the great hotels is due chiefly to English-speaking patrons, the great churches, monastic buildings, and other institutions show that in the quiet relations of life this is chiefly a French and Catholic city.

Problems. The changing situation together with the traditional tendency to resist change is pictured more in detail by another writer, describing the situation in one small city of French Canada: [8]

> In Cantonville's major industries the English hold all the positions of great authority and perform all functions requiring advanced technical training. They are the majority in the middle and minor executive positions, numerous among the clerical workers and skilled mechanics, less so among skilled operating hands, and hard to find among the semi-skilled and unskilled help. Altogether they form but a small minority of all persons employed in industry—so small, in fact, that if they were proportionately distributed among all ranks and specialties they would be scarcely noticeable. It is their concentration in certain ranks that makes them of importance.
>
> The French constitute a large majority of all persons employed in industry. In the ranks of labor they predominate most strongly. They thin out as one goes in from the shop to the office, and eventually disappear as one goes up the authority scale.
>
> Local business and service enterprises are generally owned, and almost all are operated, by French Canadians. Professional and public services lie in their hands. The French are the indigenous population, and as we have shown, constitute an overwhelming majority of the total. Among them are persons of all the ranks ordinarily found in American communities of comparable size. Since the French make up more than 90 per cent of the total population, it follows that more of them are of lower rank than of higher. They are likewise distributed among a great variety of occupations. Those of higher economic standing and of occupations requiring greater training are, like the laborers, nearly all descendants of farmers or villagers of the region. They are part and parcel of the community.

In most of the countries in which cultural conflict has been described thus far, one culture group has been largely subordinated to another, either because it has been a small numerical minority or because it has been at such a contrastingly low economic and educational level as to be relatively helpless. In the case of French Canadians we have a different type of situation, and on a large scale. The French Canadians, while a minority in Canada, have been strong enough in numbers to stand steadfastly against many culturally significant changes, at least until recently. While poorer, on the whole, than English Canadians with whom they are in direct contact, and more conservative economically, they have not been so deeply impoverished as to be unable to live largely self-sufficient lives and to maintain a large degree of control over their own economic destinies. In educational attainment they have lagged but have remained sufficiently accomplished to cope adequately with the dominant culture.

---

[8] Everett Charrington Hughes, *French Canada in Transition,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1945, p. 46.

Religion. A large part of the strength of the French-Canadian culture group has been derived from their religious unity and the stabilizing effect of the Roman Catholic Church as it has operated among them, both as an organizing force and a source of leadership.

> Religion went hand in hand with racial nationalism, and was one of its main bulwarks. Language and religion were closely allied, and the maintenance of the French language was not only an instrument of racial separatism, but also a barrier against the subversive ideas of Protestantism or of modern secular thought. The separate school issue was linked with the demand for French-speaking schools in the areas of French settlement outside Quebec, and there were strong demands for the equality of the French and English languages in the courts and legislatures of the Northwest Territories. Yet here too a potential dilemma could be detected. The French clergy were nationalists, but they were also anti-Liberal; and their adherence to the Conservatives was sometimes carried to the point that the more ardent nationalists felt involved the sacrifice of racial interests.[9]

Industrial Change. There are indications that forces lying beyond their control now are bringing greater change and more rapid assimilation than the French Canadians have yet experienced. A part of the effect is bewilderment among them in the face of the apparently inevitable. The detailed report on change in Cantonville, an excerpt from which was quoted above, describes what is occurring as follows: [10]

> But whatever villains are blamed, the circumstances complained of remain mainly those which accompany the development of the modern industrial economy, including the American type of urban life and institutions; their threat to the old French economy, rural and town; and the unsatisfactory place of French Canadians in the newer economic system. It is perhaps the fate of a minority people, no matter what the political system under which it lives, to have major changes introduced by cultural aliens. To the latter, who look upon the divergent merely as the not yet adjusted the minority seems to be defending an archaic order of things. French Canadians are in the course of making their adjustment to the latest, and thus far, most revolutionary of changes set going by their English compatriots. For, unlike the military conquest of the eighteenth century and certain commercial invasions of the past,

---

[9] Edgar McInnis, *Canada; A Political and Social History,* Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1947, p. 362.

[10] Hughes, *op. cit.,* p. 219.

the industrial revolution of the present moves masses of people from country to city, upsets the equilibrium of the classes, strikes at the very aim and content of education, and threatens a way of life that has, in the past, given comfort and deep satisfaction to its followers.

As will be noted later, there are many parallels between the situation of the French Canadians in English-dominated Canada and the native Spanish-speaking population of the American Southwest.

INDIANS OF CANADA

As a distinct ethnic and racial group, the Amerindians of Canada are of significance even though their relative numbers are small. They were the aboriginal population and are felt to have moral and legal rights to compensate them in part for being deprived by Europeans of their once vast holdings. Most of them have been resistant to acculturation, and it has been the policy of the government of Canada to protect them to a great extent from the encroachments of whites. The lives they now lead represent varying degrees of cultural intermixture.

There are about 120,000 Indians in Canada, most of them living on inalienable reserves provided by the Dominion government. While the greater portion of them live in the western part of Canada, some are to be found in every area. About a fourth of their number live in Ontario, and somewhat more than that in the prairie provinces. The greatest single concentration is in British Columbia. About 13,000 live in the Province of Quebec. A few thousand still live in the Maritime Provinces, and several thousand are scattered sparsely over the Northwest Territories.

At the time of the arrival of the French in Canada, the number of Indians in the great area was probably about the same as it is now. They lived in relatively small tribal groups and had developed a variety of cultures. Culturally, they may be thought of as being roughly of three types: the sedentary groups of the St. Lawrence Valley who lived mainly by agriculture, the roving tribes which lived chiefly by hunting in the forests and on the plains, and the Indians of the Pacific Coast who lived largely by fishing. The first impact of the whites was disastrous for the agricultural Indians who all but vanished. With the hunting tribes the French, interested in developing the fur trade for the European market, worked out what was for long a mutually advantageous accommodation. However, with the eventual decline in supply of fur-bearing animals, the lot of these Indians became difficult, and they moved in considerable numbers westward and southward before the advance of European settlement. When the Europeans first encountered the Plains Indians of the prairie provinces, they found that they had already adopted into their cultural and economic pattern the horse which had been introduced by the Spaniards in New Mexico. These Plains Indians lived by following the buffalo herds as did their relatives farther south, and the disappearance of the buffalo left them largely destitute. The Indians of the Pacific Coast were immune from contact with whites until a relatively recent historical period, but changes have come rapidly in a few decades.

Policies. The Canadian method of dealing with the Indians has been by recognizing their tribal groups as nations and entering into treaty agreements with them. As white settlements closed in, the Indians were made wards of the Dominion government and were placed on reservations which, where possible, provided them with lands suitable to their traditional ways of living. At present their reserves, on which most of the Indians live, cover about 5,500,000 acres, some suitable for farming, other lands better adapted to hunting and fur culture, and others for production of forest products. It is estimated that of the present Indian population, about 65,000 are now farming, roughly 50,000 live mainly by hunting and cultivation of fur-bearing animals, and most of the remainder are wage laborers. In addition to giving them lands and protection in the use of the land, the Canadian government has given the Indians other aid, including education and technical assistance in developing the means by which they make their living.

There is provision in Canadian law by which Indians may become enfranchised as individuals if they abandon their reservation rights and demonstrate ability to adjust in the dominant group; or, in some cases, if they pay the government for their farms on the reservations. There has been a slow but steady increase in recent years in the number who do thus become full citizens, and many enfranchised Indians lose their cultural identity in the larger community. There are no rigid bars to miscegenation, but it has been slow, largely owing to economic and cultural differences between whites and Indians.

Acculturation. Some of the subtler phases and problems of the intercultural situation as it has developed in some parts of Canada suggest similar problems and conditions wherever white Europeans and peoples of relatively primitive cultures have come into contact. The following description is revealing: [11]

[11] Ralph Linton (ed.), *Acculturation of Seven American Indian Tribes,* Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York, 1940, pp. 388–389. (Editor's summary of chapter by Irving Goldman.)

The second phase of Carrier acculturation, that resulting from their contact with Europeans, presents a somewhat different picture. The factor of prestige was still operative, for the Carrier seem to have accepted the superiority of the Whites as unquestioningly as they had that of the Bella Coola, but facts of utility and practical advantage now came to the fore. The first results of White contact were profound changes in the native technology, trade goods replacing most of the manufactures. The earlier trade goods were unquestionably superior to the things which they replaced, but as trade continued the prestige factor increasingly asserted itself. With the aid of a little high pressure salesmanship, the Carrier came to attach prestige value to a whole series of manufactured articles which they did not need. On the social side the effect of White contact seems to have been rather negative. It resulted in a sloughing off of the crest and potlatch patterns and a reversion to the older and simpler forms of organization. These forms were enough like those of the Whites to be compatible with the new contact situation. Except for losses, no profound change in the social organization occurred until it became possible to register traplines as individual property. This spelled the doom of the native lineages and left as the basic social and economic unit simple families organized on very much the European pattern. It is especially interesting that the recognition by the Catholic missionaries of the native system of rank and its incorporation into the organization of congregations they established seems to have had little effect on the perpetuation of the rank concepts. As the tribe reverted to the older form of organization, these offices lost significance and power.

At the present time the Carrier seem to have reached a successful accommodation to the current conditions. The decrease in fur-bearing animals will probably produce economic stresses in the near future, but an economic substitute in the form of herding has already been introduced and they will probably be able to accommodate themselves. In spite of the presence of White settlers in their territory and of traders, there seems to have been little race mixture. Their final assimilation into the White population is still far off.

The similarity between the situation and treatment of the Indians of Canada and those of the United States, as well as some important differences, will be evident in the later discussion of those in the United States. As in the United States, the Indians of Canada, after a long period of decline in numbers, are now increasing rapidly, mainly owing to rapid reductions in their death rates.

THE ESKIMO

Between 10,000 and 15,000 Eskimos are scattered in small groups along the entire shore of the Arctic Ocean. They are, for the most part, a littoral people, living close to the shores of bays and inlets, but numbers have also penetrated inland along river valleys for considerable distances. Their contacts with Europeans and Indians are few, there has been but little racial mixture, and acculturation has been slow and limited in its effects. They live mainly by hunting and fishing and have become highly dependent on the few trading posts in the large area they occupy for trade outlets and subsistence in the lean periods. They lead a roving life, at a low level of poverty, judged by white standards, and their social organization is extremely simple, although their culture includes a complex set of beliefs and elaborate systems of taboo. The basic unit is that of the immediate family, and a few closely related such families often live together over considerable periods of time as a sort of loosely knit community.

Conspicuous in Eskimo law is the fact that no one need be obeyed. A kind of chief is acknowledged, but his authority is limited to decisions as to the time to shift huts from one place to another. Even in this case, obedience is not compelled. He may ask some men to hunt deer, others to hunt seals, etc., but no one is obliged to carry out such orders. No specific individual is appointed to enforce the unwritten laws, but blood vengeance is effective; feuds may last into succeeding generations. A murderer or other criminal may be killed by anyone who canvasses all the men of the community and obtains their agreement that the offender deserves to die. In this case revenge is not allowable. A murderer will often visit the relatives of his victim, trusting to hospitality for a period of security. He is welcomed and may live quietly for weeks or months; but he may be challenged suddenly to a wrestling match and suffer death if he loses. Should he win he may kill one of his opponents. However, he may be attacked and slain by his companions while hunting. Quarrels are often settled by a single contest, held during the summer encampment, in which the opponents deliver satirical songs ridiculing each other; the reaction of the audience is decisive and the defeated contestant generally holds his peace thereafter.[12]

SUMMARY

The great land expanse of Canada has had important influence on race and culture relations in that country. Population is sparse as compared with other countries of the Americas, and even though there have been numerous racial and cultural groups, their contacts have not been so close or insistent as in other parts of the continent.

The 13 million persons are, however, concentrated in a narrow strip along the northern border with the United States, and more especially in the St. Lawrence Valley and adjacent areas. Elsewhere, the lack of population density has presented the Dominion with a recurrent problem of maintaining federal unity.

Between Canada and the United States there has been a free flow of migration, to the extent that parts of Canada are mainly peopled by Americans or inhabitants of American descent (here using the term American to refer to the people of the United States). Economically and culturally, there are strong influences and close ties with the United States, although Canada remains, on the whole, intensely loyal to Britain.

---

[12] Douglas G. Haring and Mary E. Johnson, *Order and Possibility in Social Life,* Richard R. Smith, New York, 1940, p. 51

The principal problem of intergroup relations in Canada is that between the dominant English population and the numerically and politically strong French Canadians. This problem has its historical background and significance, and currently is aggravated by the increasing industrialization and urbanization of French Canada, in which the French descendants find themselves characteristically in a somewhat subordinate position. The conflict between the two groups is also, to a large extent, one between the chiefly Catholic French and the primarily Protestant English. Other cultural groups from the British Isles, notably the Scotch, Irish, and Welsh, add local variety but present lesser problems of acculturation and assimilation.

Of cultural significance, but also a racial problem, is that of the Canadian Amerindians, who have been assimilated into the general population only to a limited extent. The Indians, like those of the United States, are a special concern of the Canadian government, partly because of their official treaty status and partly because of the recognition of unusual obligations toward a people who were earlier dispossessed of their land. The Indians are now, for the most part, wards of the Canadian government and live mainly on reserves, although by meeting certain qualifications they may become enfranchised. It is the policy of the Canadian government both to protect them from exploitive practices and gradually to prepare them for complete absorption into the dominant culture.

Few in number and remote in habitat are the Eskimos, living along the barren shores of the Arctic. They are the least acculturated of all population groups and are still living much as they did before contact with the European whites.

There has been a miscellany of immigration from various parts of Europe which has left some relatively isolated communities in conflict with the major culture. On the Pacific Coast, especially, there are considerable concentrations of Japanese and Chinese who are barred from complete assimilation both by their differential cultural backgrounds and by the rigid color line. These groups have been of considerable concern, especially in time of strife or threat of conflict with Japan.

Even considering these various conflicts and problems, Canada has had less acute acculturation problems than has the United States, and since Canada had no historic slave trade, it has not inherited a Negro population of sizable proportions.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How does Canada compare with other American countries in size and population?

2. Where is Canadian population chiefly concentrated?

3. What are the principal races of Canada, and how do they compare numerically?

4. What are the major cultural groupings of Canada's population?

5. Describe the effects of urbanization in Quebec.

6. What is the present situation regarding assimilation of Canada's Amerindians?

7. Why have the Eskimos remained largely unacculturated?

8. By comparison to Brazil and the United States, Canada has no Negro problem. Why?

9. What has been the role of religious affiliation in Canadian cultural adjustments?

10. What has been the historical significance of the United States–Canadian border?

SUGGESTED READINGS

CLARK, S. D., "The Religious Sect in Canadian Politics," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 51, 1945, pp. 209–210.

CURRIE, A. W., *Economic Geography of Canada,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1947.

HANSEN, MARCUS LEE, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples.* completed and prepared by John Bartlett Brebner, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1940, 2 vols.

HUGHES, EVERETT CHARRINGTON, *French Canada in Transition,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1945.

HUTCHINSON, BRUCE, *The Unknown Country: Canada and Her People,* Coward-McCann, Inc., New York, 1942.

MCINNES, EDGAR, *Canada: A Political and Social History,* Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1947.

MACKAY, R. A., and E. B. ROGERS, *Canada Looks Ahead,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1938.

SARVIS, GUY W., "Cooperatives in Nova Scotia," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 13, 1939, p. 258.

WRONG, GEORGE M., *The Canadians; the Story of a People,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1938.

CHAPTER 13

THE UNITED STATES: BACKGROUND

ABOUT ONE-FIFTEENTH of the people of the world live in the United States and, as every school child knows, they are descended from all the races and most of the culture groups of the world. What has been written thus far has dealt mainly with foreign areas, their patterns and problems of ethnic relations. While the setting of such relationships in the United States contrasts greatly with those in which most of the earth's peoples live, almost any type of adjustment found in any other place has a near parallel in this country. Some American population groups are comparatively homogeneous, and their internal accommodations are extremely simple; others are heterogeneous, and their problems are much more complicated. Large areas in the United States are rural and sparsely populated, others are in the hearts of some of the world's largest cities where people of various shades and color of skin and differing life ways are in immediate and unceasing contact with each other. Of all countries, the United States is in many ways the most dynamic in its national life with the result that social and other changes come rapidly and all ethnic problems are involved with other trends in which they are, often, part cause and part effect. It is within the framework of change that they must be studied with the realization that what now exists, while a product of the past, may differ in important respects from what was true even so short a time as a decade ago; and what we now find in the way of successful and unsuccessful accommodation will not be the same in all essentials for any considerable period of time in the future.

Much of the literature which deals with American ethnic relations falls into one of two clearly defined classes: the optimistic, which forecasts a simple and sure solution for existing ethnic problems; or the alarmist, which warns that no solutions are apt to come soon and that disaster may well result. Both of these approaches are essentially emotional and more revealing as to the state of mind of the writer than of ascertainable and verifiable fact.

Perspectives. In the study of ethnic problems in the United States it is necessary to keep in mind the perspective within the general world setting, which preceding chapters have attempted to give. While our national situation has its unique aspects, it is also a part of the more fundamental patterns of the entire world. Our present problems are related to intergroup patterns which developed far back in human history, or even prehistory, as the chapter dealing with Europe suggested. To note this simply gives recognition to the continuity of group life and does not commit us to semimystical notions of instinctive group antagonisms or inborn racial superiority or inferiority. It helps to guard us against any too narrow interpretations of the phenomena with which we are most familiar, of course, at home. Obviously many of our American situations, as that of the Amerindian, merge imperceptibly with those of Canada on the north, as the preceding chapter has indicated, and with those of Latin-American countries to the south. Less obvious, but increasingly of concern, is the relation of our problems to problems of even more remote areas of the world.

The understanding of intergroup relationships in the United States starts properly with a world perspective and a long historical view; but it also requires a more detailed view of the history of the United States, as well as the physiography and the demography of the land, all of which enter importantly into the shaping of these relationships. It is with these considerations that this chapter will be concerned.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The human history of what is now the continental United States starts with the indigenous peoples who inhabited the area before the coming of Europeans, but little is known of these early inhabitants. Anthropologists now generally accept the notion that very early inhabitants appeared in parts of the American Southwest from 15,000 to 25,000 years ago. They were few in number and left behind crude evidences of their cave-dwelling and hunting existence. But they are now a vanished people and of little concern for the present problems with which this book deals. Of much more immediate concern is the fact that there were several million Amerindians scattered in small groups throughout the area that is now the United States at the time the first groups of Europeans entered the country. The Indians of the United States had developed no spectacular "civilizations" as had the Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas in Latin America, but in the region that is now Arizona and New Mexico there had arisen a town-dwelling, sedentary, agricultural people, the Pueblos, and it was these who were to feel the first impact of European invasion. Most of the other Indians of what is now the United States were seminomadic or nomadic and lived in some places partly by agriculture, in others by hunting and raiding more settled neighbors. These Amerindians had scores of cultures, spoke various languages, and a much greater number of dialects. There was never any such thing as *the* Indian language or *the* Indian culture. In fact, from a cultural standpoint they probably presented as much variety as has been found in the United States at any time since the coming of the Europeans. But the Indians had a great area which permitted them to live in partial isolation from each other, and their problems of intergroup accommodation were seldom pressing or unavoidable.

General Characteristics. The widely held notion that the pre-Columbian Indians of the United States were all warlike savages, darkly superstitious, and an inherently inferior people, has little factual evidence to support it. It is true, however, that the most "advanced" among them had passed the peak of the cultural development and were somewhat in decline when the Europeans arrived.

Nor is there any basis for the opposite notion, often highly romanticized, that all Indians were tall, handsome men with eagle feather headdresses, or pretty maidens dressed in buckskins, innocent nature worshippers in whom there was no guile. As nearly as can be told from the evidence, the Amerindians were human beings, some "good," some "bad," and probably many "indifferent." There were a few warlike tribes which seem to have been perpetual nuisances to their neighbors, just as there have been in the South Pacific and the highlands of Tibet. There were also some groups, such as the Pueblos of the Southwest, who had highly developed ceremonials, rich religious traditions, and who lived, when they could, at peace.

Some of the pre-Columbian Indians lived in distressing poverty, constantly on the brink of starvation; others had sufficient of the necessities of life except in time of famine or when raiders seized their stores. For the early Indians of the United States, generally speaking, life was neither an idyllic Utopia nor a nightmare of disaster and sudden death.

Colonial Period. It is sometimes said facetiously by historians that the first "white" man to encounter Indians in what is now the United States was a Negro,[1] but the supposed incident to which reference is made is of no importance to the study of present racial and cultural relations. However, as early as 1540, Coronado, a Spanish *conquistador,* led a small army from Mexico into the American Southwest and visited several Indian pueblos. From what is known of his *entrada* several things stand out: he was received with a mixture of awe, fear, distrust, and hospitality; he and his followers shamefully exploited the Indians, holding over them the threats of superior armament, organization, and—more especially—horses. For his expedition had the first horses American Indians had ever seen. From the early account of this expedition there is evidence that the Pueblos, although spatially isolated, were in contact with other Indians living at some distance and even held captives taken from Plains Indians.

---

[1] One Estevan, a conditionally released Negro slave, was reportedly sent out from Mexico to serve as liaison between advance parties of missionaries and following soldiers. Accounts relate that he exceeded his instructions and introduced himself at several Indian pueblos. Eventually he was reported killed by the Indians. For details, see any comprehensive history of the American Southwest.

A few decades later the Spaniards had established settlements and missions along the Rio Grande and in Florida. Then the English founded their first colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, with the French following soon thereafter in Canada. It was not long until most of the important European nations of that time—the early seventeenth century—had colonies in what now is the United States. For a time each of the colonies was intent upon ensuring its own survival and in paying back whatever had been borrowed in Europe to make it possible. It was a variety of culture groups from Europe, sharing, however, Europe's literacy and relative technological advancement, which met the scattered, heterogeneous Indian tribes of the Atlantic Coast and the Rio Grande Valley in attitudes of mutual mingled respect and distrust. This puzzlement is reflected in the account of one writer about the early Pilgrims of New England: [2]

> For some time now the Indians had been causing the Pilgrims steadily increasing concern, being a source of constant nagging worry. Not because of anything they had done—but precisely because they had done nothing, which seemed very suspicious and aroused much uneasy speculation.
>
> Had the savages withdrawn at sight of them, retreating into the wilderness to organize their forces and recruit allies with the intention of returning in force to fall upon New Plymouth some dark night with tomahawk and torch?

The English kept mainly to the narrow coastal strip for a considerable time and gradually absorbed the colonies of the other nationalities including New Amsterdam at the mouth of the Hudson. The French pressed farther inland, along the Great Lakes and down the valley of the Mississippi. Some few pressed even farther to the west, engaged in a constantly expanding fur trade with the Indians. The Spanish clung to Florida, colonized the river valleys of the Southwest and the coast of California. Most of the developments and the events of the subsequent history of what is now the United States are readily accessible to students and require but brief treatment here. Suffice it to say that the interracial contacts of the colonial period were varied in their nature and effects. The Europeans took the lands they wanted by force, barter, or treaty. Missionaries converted the Indians to Christianity—in the Southwest to Catholicism, in the East to Protestantism. At times, there was brief and bloody warfare with the Indians; at others, the Europeans and Indians engaged in peaceful commerce. But the Amerindian was always in retreat.

---

[2] George F. Willison, *Saints and Sinners,* Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., New York, 1945, pp. 168–169.

The Slave Trade. The first Europeans to reach America attempted to enslave the Indians, but they found that the aborigines were not very industrious in captivity. The natives of the Caribbean Islands were virtually exterminated by the Spaniards in the experiment. Very soon the whites began the importation of African slaves, drawing upon and expanding a trade in Negroes already very old. In what is now the United States, the Negro was introduced early after the beginning of European colonization and rapidly became a "problem" first to rival, then to surpass, that of the Indians who, however, under European tutelage, were becoming more and more warlike.

By the time of the American Revolution, Negroes made up about one-fifth of the population of the thirteen colonies, a proportion far exceeding that of the Amerindians in that narrow coastal strip. The growing number of Negroes, constantly augmented by the slave trade, and the bloody uprisings of the Negro slaves in the West Indies made the Negroes a source of worry for many North Americans. Especially was this true for those Europeans living in southern areas where Negroes, in places, outnumbered the whites. So great was the concern among alarmists that, at the time of the first Constitutional Convention, steps were taken to end the slave traffic and eventually to free the slaves. Had it not been for the Louisiana Purchase which greatly increased the land area of the cotton states and, therefore, the demand for cheap labor, the United States might well have been spared more than a half century of turmoil with its eventual bloody resolution in the War between the States.

The Nineteenth Century. As matters actually developed, slavery was to continue for 60 more years in the South to the growing resentment in the North. Slavery in the South pushed the Indian problem into the background. Efforts to use the Amerindians as plantation labor had failed, but the Indians held valuable lands wanted by the growing white population, and the aborigines were pushed back relentlessly, leaving behind a few pitiful enclavements to starve, die from disease, or eventually to be absorbed into the white or Negro population. In the North the same relentless drive to the West proceeded down the Ohio River and other waterways, and eventually out into the Great Plains west of the Mississippi. As early as 1824, the Federal government had set up an Indian Service which was a part of the Department of War; and at the time the North and the South were approaching war over Negro slavery it became a common saying along the whole western frontier that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian."

During the War between the States, the Negro slaves were freed, and shortly after they were enfranchised, legally at least, by amendment to the Constitution.

> Emancipation, being a sudden access of freedom, was a source of further disorganization. In religion it cut the [Negro] congregations off more completely from white paternalism and supervision. While this was a welcome relief to the Negro, the increased pressure of segregated restrictions resulted in increasing rivalry among colored leaders and therefore in almost unlimited schism. In the economic area emancipation meant a swift change from dependence to independence at a time of increasing unemployment and poverty. In this atmosphere the pattern of white domination and paternalism again came to the fore, creating new legalized peonage on the land; while in the cities more and more exclusion of the Negro from industrial or skilled trade occupations became the rule, with resulting irregular work habits and drifting about in search for jobs. All this in turn had its effect upon family life. On the plantations many of the patterns assumed in slavery days were continued through social inertia; in the cities the unstable employment of men helped to continue the dominance of maternal families.
>
> The enforced social distance between racial groups meant that Negro culture gradually began to develop a separate though related community life. In this society social adaptation lagged behind that of the dominant group as a result of lesser participation in the culture as a whole. Immediate color visibility made distinctions easy to draw so that the great majority of Negroes could be stereotyped and defined without difficulty. Under these conditions the broken culture would continue to evolve more slowly than the "outside" society. Older patterns were then perpetuated, even after the original causes for their appearance were no longer present. The retention of religious, economic, and family responses was often more comfortable because it was more familiar. Custom became deeply ingrained in an environment separated by social lines of division. To the outsider these customs and traditions often appear as the distorted image of the dominant culture; a historical review of their origin, however, shows the causes responsible for their appearance and retention. It also shows that as opportunity and education became equalized, the two groups became more and more indistinguishable in actual accomplishment. The color line, however, still remains.[3]

Immigration. During the nineteenth century other ethnic problems developed as the immigration from Europe changed from a trickle to a stream, and from a stream to a veritable torrent. Beginning about 1820 and continuing to 1880, there was the Old immigration, made up predominantly of people of northern European stocks similar in language and institutions to the people who had already become dominant in North American affairs, the Anglo-Saxons from the British Isles. The Old immigrants came, mainly as families, and settled largely in the open country and out on the western frontier. Of them, only the Irish were chiefly urban in their initial adjustments. They included the Germans, French, Irish, Scotch, Swedish, and Dutch in addition to a continued influx of English. Their cultural fusion and life conditions in America were shaping them as a people. As Frederick J. Turner wrote: [4]

---

[3] R. A. Schermerhorn, *These Our People,* reprinted by special permission of D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, Mass., 1949, pp. 106–107.

> In the settlement of America we have to observe how European life entered the continent, and how America modified and developed that life and reacted upon Europe. Our early history is the study of European germs developing in American environment. Too exclusive attention has been paid by institutional students to the Germanic origins, too little to the American factors. The frontier is the line of most effective and rapid Americanization. . . . The fact is that here is a new product that is American. At first the frontier was on the Atlantic coast. It was the frontier of Europe in a very real sense. Moving west, the frontier became more and more American. . . .

The New Immigration. Changes in the European immigration into the United States came gradually and almost imperceptibly. Usually 1880 is given as the more or less arbitrary dividing line between the Old immigration and the New. At any rate, by that year the character of the people coming into the United States had changed greatly, as had the volume of immigration, and the conditions under which the immigrants had to make their accommodations with the dominant culture of the United States. By that year they were coming more and more from the southern and eastern parts of Europe rather than from the northern and western, which meant that they contrasted more sharply with the people already resident in the United States in language, religion, and other cultural attributes. In addition, about 1880, Oriental immigration began to reach considerable dimensions. The size of the total immigration increased until, by 1907, more than a million immigrants were arriving in the United States in a single year.

Even though they were mainly people with rural backgrounds, the New immigration had little opportunity for making rural adjustments to the cultural atmosphere of the United States, since the free land frontier was rapidly vanishing. This meant that the later arrivals were forced to make their accommodations in urban environments, and more especially in a few seaport cities such as New York and Boston. Under the urban conditions, contacts between the newly arrived Europeans and Americans were close, frequent, and insistent, which both sped up the assimilation of the new arrivals and intensified various types of conflict among the ethnic groups.

---

[4] *The Frontier in American History,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1920, pp. 3–4.

Recent Changes. The prejudice against the immigrants was augmented by the changes in their character and the different conditions of adjustment. This prejudice eventually brought about the enactment of laws which practically ended large-scale immigration into the United States from Europe and excluded Orientals. As European immigration declined, there was some increase in that from Latin-American countries, especially Mexico; and a dispersion of southern Negroes throughout the industrial North to replenish the supply of labor for a rapidly expanding economy. In the meantime the Indians had been driven largely into the Far West, and most of them were confined on reservations as wards of the Federal government. Efforts to bring about controlled assimilation of the Amerindians had become a matter of policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, long since removed from the War Department to the Department of the Interior.

A number of historical trends have affected, and have been affected by, the changing ethnic relations, including the territorial growth of the country from a limited strip of colonies along the Atlantic seaboard to include a large part of the North American continent reaching from ocean to ocean, and extending beyond the seas and northward to include Alaska; the continuous rapid growth of population from about 5 million at the time of the Revolution to more than 150 million; a continuous trend toward greater industrialization and more urbanization; and a constantly rising general standard of living.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

At present the population of the United States includes peoples of all racial origins and many mixtures of races. The population is, of course, predominantly Caucasoid, including undeterminable strains of Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean subraces of Europe, so completely assimilated into one group that for most whites of the United States it would be impossible to designate the subracial composition with any considerable degree of precision.

The next largest racial group in the United States is the Negroid, constituting slightly under one-tenth of the population and including a large number of mulattoes. The Amerindians have dwindled to a few hundred thousands, and the Orientals make up an even lesser proportion of the population. There are also several million people whose racial classification is necessarily ambiguous, including chiefly about 3 million Mexicans, mainly mestizos, of varying degrees of mixture of Indian and Spanish or other blood.

There has been intermixture of racial strains since the first contact between Europeans and the Indians, and the Negroes with both the whites and the Indians, but there have also been many obstacles to amalgamation. Where Nordic whites are concerned, the "color line" has been drawn rigidly, especially against intermarriage of white and Negro, or white and Oriental. Early in American history the mixture of Europeans and Amerindians was relatively frequent, especially in the Southwest, but as sex ratios among the whites approached an even balance, there has been very little, and racial lines have remained fairly well marked.

Until recently the "colored" racial groups in the United States either declined in numbers or grew at a slower rate than the Europeans and their descendants, partly because of the lower characteristic death rates of the whites, and partly because of the large continued European immigration. In recent decades, the immigration has fallen off, and death rates of all races have been rapidly declining, so that the rate of growth of the colored races is overtaking, and in some cases has even surpassed, that of the whites. There still remains a significant differential in death rates, especially in infant mortality, and the trend toward urbanization of Negroes is rapidly reducing their characteristic high birth rate. It is probable that for the foreseeable future the present racial proportions in the United States will change but little.

Cultural Composition. As has been noted, the United States has drawn people from nearly all the distinguishable culture groups of the world, and in so far as there is an American culture, it is a hybrid product made up of borrowed elements, for the most part. There are in it mainly the characteristics and institutions of the North and West of Europe, and to a lesser extent traits of the Amerindian and the Orientals. There remain few if any traces of the aboriginal African cultures of the Negroes in the United States, the Negroes having taken over chiefly the culture of the dominant population of the country.

There has been, of course, a great deal of culture borrowing among the various European immigrant groups, a process which continues. At the same time the varying life conditions have brought about, through historical processes, local and regional variations of the main American life ways, ranging from language and diet to architecture.

Anglo-Saxon Dominance. Without further development of the obvious diversity of influences which have entered into American life, it is clear that the dominant ones have been Anglo-Saxon. This is reflected in nearly every phase of what is considered typical American life, and the cultural norms and attitudes which distinguish Americans are based largely upon Anglo-Saxon counterparts. Peoples of other than English origin have come under this influence progressively, and those who, as exceptions, have resisted are considered as still unassimilated and out-groups.

> It is indeed true, as Thomas Paine said in Common Sense, that America is a child, not of England only but of Europe; nevertheless our early history is primarily concerned with the immigration and adaption to American life of English men and English institutions. . . . The foundation of twelve of the thirteen colonies which afterwards formed the United States of America was mainly the work of men then living, their children, and their grandchildren. The social experiences of these three generations, in the country from which most of them came, determined to a large extent their outlook upon life and the institutions which they founded in the New World.[5]

The Anglo-Saxon dominance has spread, often against local resistance, as the nation has expanded territorially, leaving only here and there a small community or group of communities relatively untouched. Resistance which has been found in peoples brought up in other cultural atmospheres has created, and in some places continues to make for, problems of cultural conflict. Even in areas where cultures of divergent European or indigenous origins have long held sway, the Anglo-Saxon has repeatedly been able, in time, to overwhelm resistance, largely because it is linked with strong nationalistic sentiments and is basic to prevailing economic activities and thought.

Many of the attitudes, beliefs, and ideals of the Anglo-Saxon heritage have entered importantly to shape the course of intergroup relationships in the United States, whether such relations are between and among racial or simply cultural groups. Partly coming from this heritage and partly a result of our own historical experience as a people, have been the following cultural complexes which reveal themselves in various intergroup adjustments:

The notion of "white supremacy" with its accompanying "color line" which have typified ethnic relations throughout the expansion of the British Empire, but which also developed in this country as rationalizations to justify practices which did not always conform to our pronounced ideals of equality.

The middle-class ascendency in our social structure, closely akin to a similar development in England, but which has had even further maturation in the United States as the country has become increasingly urbanized and industrialized.

---

[5] Evarts B. Greene, *The Foundations of American Nationality,* American Book Company, New York, 1922, 2 vols., pp. 1–2.

The strongly entrenched respect for abstract justice and fair play, with a tendency to sympathize with the underdog, whether individual or group.

High regard for democracy and democratic institutions, with insistence upon the equality of man and the dignity and worth of every individual, perhaps more a part of our heritage from revolutionary France than from elsewhere, but also from liberal England.

Some Confusions. It is obvious that these characteristics, when all are considered, contain basic contradictions and inconsistencies which have been reflected in specific situations as well as in general pronouncements as bivalent attitudes. At times these implied contradictions have been the causes of heated controversies even within the dominant culture group, as was especially true during the long debate between the northern abolitionists and the southern apologists for slavery preceding the War between the States. The types of intergroup adjustments which are based on strong convictions of white supremacy are especially incongruous with the dictates of notions of democracy and the equality of man.

There exists in anthropological and sociological literature no complete and authoritative description of our complex American culture, probably because its rapid fluctuations make such a description virtually impossible; nor is there a complete index of the traits included in the Anglo-Saxon heritage. Any analysis of Anglo-Saxon influence is necessarily tentative, fragmentary, and incomplete. However, on the points enumerated above there is general agreement, and their influences on the patterns of intergroup relationships can be discerned clearly in the history of the people of the United States.

PHYSIOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES

The United States ranks with Canada and Brazil as one of the three largest countries of the Western Hemisphere, but differs from the other two in that nearly every part of the United States is habitable, occupied, and easily accessible to other parts. The country measures more than 2,800 miles at the point of greatest width from east to west, and more than 1,600 miles at its greatest dimension from north to south, having an area, exclusive of Alaska, of about 3 million square miles. It not only borders on the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, but also, to the south, on the Gulf of Mexico, and its coast lines contain numerous fine harbors which permit access by water routes to all parts of the world, as well as a large coastwise shipping among the various ports. The Great Lakes, the Mississippi-Missouri-Ohio and other river systems have made possible trade and communication by water which have been especially important historically in the peopling of the vast area and in determining, largely, the patterns of population distribution.

The country contains a number of large regions which have been easily and rapidly developed for agricultural production: the Atlantic coastal plain, the basin of the Great Lakes, the southern Gulf coastal region, the Great Plains of the Middle West, and the Columbia and San Joaquin–Sacramento River valleys of the Pacific Coast. The greatest obstacles to transportation and the westward expansion of population were the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coastal ranges. These, however, are now crossed by rail and highway traffic lanes, as well as by a number of transcontinental air lines.

Aside from its rich and accessible agricultural areas, the United States is usually considered the most favored nation in terms of a variety of other natural resources of strategic importance to modern industrialization, such as coal, metal ores, petroleum, and forests; in many cases such resources are so located in relation to each other as to make for the rise of some of the world's most important industrial concentrations. There has been, historically, a continuous influx from Europe of a variety of skilled artisans who have supplied the reservoir of craftsmen necessary for large-scale and rapid industrialization, and, as well, until recently, a practically unlimited supply of relatively cheap labor. After the first half century of our national life there was accumulated in the United States sufficient capital to make possible large-scale industrial financing without dependence on money from outside sources.

Dominant Position. Such a combination of favorable circumstances made the United States as nearly self-sufficient in both agriculture and industry as any nation has ever been; and an important by-product of this was a strong isolationist sentiment among the American people which characterized them for a long period while they were mainly preoccupied with the development of their homeland. A later by-product was the notion of "manifest destiny" which arose when increasing American capital needed foreign outlets for continued expansion and growth, and this, in turn, led to foreign involvements in Latin America, in China and Japan, in Canada, and eventually in various parts of Europe and the Near East. The turn of the century found the United States recognized as a leading world power capable not only of defending itself and its immediate sphere of influence in the Western Hemisphere, but also, if need be, of entering decisively into world affairs farther abroad. The two World Wars, indeed, left the United States in its present power position as the strongest nation of the world, carrying a large share of the responsibility for the maintenance of world stability and peace.

This historical evolution as a great world power has been affected in its course by the ethnic composition of the American population and, in turn, has had its effect upon the ethnic relations within the United States. The general Anglo-Saxon dominance in our culture has made for strong ties with Great Britain in recent crises in which it has been necessary to choose between sides in conflicts. Many of the lesser ethnic groups in the country have maintained nationalistic loyalties with their homelands, especially in Europe, and these have tended to influence our national sympathies and policies at times. Since our world leadership is based in part on moral grounds, the treatment accorded all national and cultural minorities as well as the "colored" racial group at home has been considered as affecting the strength of that leadership. This has made us increasingly sensitive in recent years to patterns and practices of discrimination existing within our borders and has had a bearing on many domestic policies which have affected ethnic relationships.

POPULATION

The continental United States has a population of more than 150 million and an average population density of about 50 persons per square mile. Regional and local differences in population and density, however, are fully as significant as the over-all averages in their bearing on intergroup adjustments. Rhode Island, the most densely populated state, has an average density of about 650 persons per square mile, while Nevada, with an area of about 100,000 square miles, has an average density of about 2. This suggests the range, but to find the real extremes it would be necessary to compare the crowded slum areas in the heart of the country's greatest cities with the large desert and mountain areas which are practically unpopulated. The population of the United States has grown rapidly throughout the country's history, and relatively isolated areas have become fewer with every decade. The growth continues at present and will go on for a number of decades to come, but the significant long-run trend is in the direction of slower rate of growth which may eventually lead to a stationary population, in the opinion of most population experts.

While the American population has been chiefly rural throughout most of our national history, it is now mainly urban, and recent census figures show that the urban trend is continuing, even in the most sparsely populated of states.

Distribution. In very general terms, the distribution of the population of the country follows the pattern of rainfall. The 100th meridian of longitude, which forms the eastern boundary of the Panhandle of Texas, roughly divides the territory of the United States in two. To the east from this line rainfall averages 20 inches or more per year, increasing the farther east one goes. Since it requires this much rainfall for extensive agriculture without primary dependence on irrigation, it follows that, other things being equal, the area lying to the east is increasingly better for agricultural purposes than that to the west of the 100th meridian; for to the west there is less and less precipitation until one comes to the Pacific coastal region. So it is that eastward of the 100th meridian population becomes increasingly dense, if regional averages are considered, and westward it becomes increasingly sparse. The greatest density is farthest east of the line, and the least density is in the relatively desert regions just east of the Pacific coastal ranges.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that great bodies of water such as the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico are intrusive factors which make for increased rainfall in areas near them, and along these bodies of water both the precipitation and the population density are greater than they otherwise would be.

While this is a convenient rough picture of population distribution, rainfall is not the only, nor necessarily the chief, determinant. As industrialization has increased, the location of strategic natural resources other than those which make for agricultural development have more and more significance. Notably, the location of coal and oil in Pennsylvania and Ohio, combined with the large iron deposits of Minnesota, made accessible to each other by water transportation, has built up the large industrial area stretching from Chicago to Pittsburgh and Buffalo, somewhat independently of the agricultural development of the same region.

As is usually the case, the development of transportation has had much to do with determining the location and extent of local concentrations of population. New York City, the second largest in the world, is not only a center of regional and national importance but also a center of commerce and finance for the whole world, largely because of its transportation advantages. All the larger cities of the nation are located on the oceans or Great Lakes, or with easy access to them. Those inland cities without such access have developed as railway terminals and crossroads. As among the various regions of the country, the presence or absence of adequate railroad facilities has been a chief determinant of the relative density of population, just as the presence or lack of considerable population influenced, in turn, the location of the railroads. The nation's highways have tended to follow the lines of the railroads, and air transportation routes have been more recently influenced chiefly by the existence of population centers. Thus, the transportation map is a useful supplement to the rainfall map in the understanding of the country's population distribution.

COMPLEXITY OF PROBLEMS

Within the framework of the historical, physiographic, and demographic settings which have been traced briefly, the racial and cultural adjustments which have been made and which are being made in the United States are complex, in some regards more so than those of any comparable area of the world. There are local and regional variations and changing attitudes which range from almost violent hostility to the greatest tolerance. Some of the complexity is suggested by one recent writer: [6]

> Returning to the power relations which are the stark reality underlying the status of minorities, we may now take a panoramic view of the problem in the United States. A typology based on power groupings will serve as a guide through the maze of the problem. To begin with, there are minorities forced into subordination by conquest; this came chronologically first in our history, and the American Indian properly belongs there. Second are the minority groups captured by force and transported as slave labor: the Negro belongs in this category. Third in the list are migrants who are accepted for prudential considerations of various sorts: this class embraces the European, Ibero-American, and Asiatic immigrants.
>
> This, however, gives us only half the story. If there were no other classification it would be necessary to lump together the Mexican, Japanese, Italian, and Jew as uniform elements in the same problem—which they decidedly are not. Even the novice who considers the difficulty will feel that the first two have something in common which the others do not; and he might want to include the Negro and the American Indian as well. In this he would undoubtedly be right: there is a factor of high visibility in these groups due to their racial origins. Precisely what race means is not in question here, but the need for recognizing racial strains as well as power relations is a compelling one if only for the reason that the dominant American public feels much more closely related to Poles, Russians, Hungarians, and Yugoslavs than to Negroes, Mexicans, and Japanese Americans. This popular feeling may or may not be mistaken but it must be recognized; and in terms of our future analysis we shall see that it has some scientific justification.

The American Dilemma. What Gunnar Myrdal has called the "American dilemma" in reference especially to the position and treatment of the Negro in the United States describes a part of the complicated background of all ethnic adjustment problems in the country. It is a basic and obvious conflict between American political idealism supported by religious doctrine and acceptance of "fair play" as a high cultural value, on the one hand, and a traditionally ethnocentric viewpoint and the requirements of economic regimentation on the other. According to the first, all groups, regardless of racial or cultural background, are accepted on an equal basis and given equal opportunity for economic and social participation. This is the ideal, but practice often falls short and even contrasts with it. The "color line" and general acceptance of white Anglo-Saxon supremacy are also characteristic of the people of the United States; the labor pyramid and class structure enforce racial and cultural gradations which are reenforced by a variety of discriminatory practices varying from place to place and from time to time.

---

[6] Schermerhorn, *op. cit.,* p. 16.

Cycle of Ethnic Relations. While practice does tend to keep some groups superior in the socioeconomic scale, and thus advantaged on ethnical grounds, and conversely others are kept down, the picture as regards any particular group in the United States is an ever-changing one. Throughout American history it is possible to note a repeating cycle of relations between the dominant group and subordinate ones.

In the first phase of this cycle, as will be illustrated more fully in later chapters, the newly arrived or contacted racial or ethnic group is welcomed because it fits into a definite place in the scheme of things without obvious danger to the security or status of established groups. In a later phase the new group comes into more extended and frequent competition with established groups, and intergroup relationships become increasingly hostile. At a later stage in the cycle, there is increasing tolerance on the part of the dominant groups, which may proceed as far as a sort of romantic idealization of the previously hated aliens, or of their memory if they have become thoroughly assimilated in the meantime.

One example of this cycle which has now run its complete course in the United States is found in the history of the Irish immigrants and their descendants. The earliest arrivals from Ireland fitted into felt needs for cheap labor and, as such, were welcomed in the urban centers where they settled, in the Pennsylvania coal fields or on the construction crews, building the early transcontinental railroads. Soon the more ambitious among them were pressing their way into higher employment levels and other advantaged economic positions where they came into competition with established groups, and there was a rise of hostile feeling which at times broke into rioting and other forms of violence. The Irish, as a group, assimilated rapidly into the general population, and in the final stage, to be known as "Irish" or of Irish descent has taken on a high honorific value in our culture.

A similar cycle can be seen in the long history of the relations of European whites with the Amerindians, but because the cultural gap has been wider and the "color line" has been an effective bar to complete assimilation, the cycle has taken much longer in running its course and in some respects is incomplete. There is a generally accepted romantic idealization of the Indian, but locally there are exceptions to the attitude implied, especially where competitive interests are involved in intergroup relations.

The Class Structure. The fluid, complex, and constantly changing class structure of the United States is everywhere interrelated with the patterns of ethnic relationships. Prevailingly, the uppermost classes remain chiefly Nordic white, while other racial groups, where discernible, remain at lower levels. Varying degrees of cultural and racial mixture may be found in the middle groups depending upon the region, community, and period.

Since the United States has a predominantly economic culture, the wealth and income status of individuals and families has much to do with class relationships and positions. Many Nordic whites of low economic status rank very low in the social class pyramid, as in the mountain regions of Kentucky and Tennessee, while many persons and families of other descent may rank relatively high. The linkage of economic status with class position works to some extent the other way, for the class system based in part on ethnic considerations tends to assign and keep individuals and families "in their place" by perpetuating monopolies of economic advantages and opportunities.

A striking phase of the economic class system is the tendency of each ethnic group which is, to any extent, excluded from full social participation to duplicate within itself a class structure patterned upon that of the dominant group. If these ethnic groups are European immigrants, it is the older immigrants, in the sense of those who have been longest in the country or whose ancestors arrived earliest, who hold the upper class ranks, and the newer arrivals who occupy the lower. Where distinct racial groups are concerned, it is usually those who in obvious racial characteristics most resemble the whites, who have the higher class positions, and those whose features least resemble those of the dominant groups, who hold the lower positions. Among the American Negroes, for example, light skin color is usually a decided advantage in class competition.

Spatial and Social Mobility. The class scheme in the United States lacks clearly defined boundaries and is everywhere complicated by the extreme spatial and social mobility of the people, which applies to all ethnic groups and all parts of the country, even though not equally. Negroes leaving the South for the North or West, or rural areas for urban centers, immediately find themselves under the necessity of making new adjustments to differing class structures, just as do Indians leaving the reservation for town or outside farming areas. The same is true, and has been historically, for all groups of European immigrants as they have shifted from city to city, from city to rural areas, or otherwise moved about spatially.

Even those members of alien ethnic groups or "colored" races who have not moved spatially have been subject to varying degrees of vertical social mobility, upward or downward in the socioeconomic scale. Such movements have varied with general economic conditions and with the aptitudes and ambitions of individuals and families. In so far as individuals and families have been able to control their own destinies, their movement has been chiefly upward; and in a country with a rapidly ever-growing population, expanding resources and area, and steadily rising levels of living, it has been possible to have a large net upward movement at most times.

The Labor Pyramid. The general upward movement of ethnic groups in the socioeconomic scale has confronted America's expanding industry and economy at most times with the need for recruitment from some source of fresh supplies of labor for the lower part of the labor pyramid. A large part of American immigration, and the slave trade itself, were influenced largely by this need. As we have noted, the Spaniards had hoped to find in the Amerindians a large supply of cheap slave labor. The African slave trade was built upon a demand in growing American countries, notably the rural South of the United States, for low-priced labor. As the United States expanded into what is now called the Middle West, many of the new states and territories maintained recruiting agents in Europe to bring in labor especially for the clearing and development of farm lands. The first Chinese, and later the first Japanese and Filipinos, were brought to the West Coast in response to similar demand.

As European sources of cheap labor began to fail and then were cut off by quota restrictions and as Orientals became excluded, the same need for cheap labor lay behind the large-scale migrations of southern and rural Negroes to northern industrial centers. The same circumstances led to increasing volumes of immigration from Mexico and other nearby Latin-American sources. It brought about considerable migration from Canada, especially of French Canadians into New England and New York, as noted in the preceding chapter.

Increased mechanization of both agriculture and industry has reduced proportionately the need for cheap labor at the bottom of the labor pyramid, but regionally and seasonally the demand is still acute and remains a part of the problem of ethnic adjustment in the United States. At times and places there must still be cotton pickers, fruit gatherers, railroad track layers, and manual workers in various industries, a considerable fringe of marginal workers who can be drawn upon in times of industrial and economic expansion and cast off in times of contraction. It is in the periods of general contraction that relief rolls swell and the marginal fringe becomes most obvious in our national scene.

SUMMARY

The United States, beginning its national life as a narrow strip along the Atlantic seaboard, had already gone through phases of ethnic adjustment, first in the meeting of Europeans and native Amerindians, and soon after in the beginnings of the African Negro slave trade in this country. These adjustments and their related problems continued as the country expanded territorially across the continent until its frontier ended at the Pacific Ocean. Throughout our national history there has been wave after wave of immigration, mainly from Europe but, in smaller measure, including Orientals. All these episodes and periods have brought together various racial and cultural groups with accompanying problems of ethnic adjustment in every region and every locality.

Related trends have been urbanization, rapid industrialization, and the rise of the nation to a position of world power and leadership. Many of the alien ethnic groups have been completely assimilated, others are in stages of assimilation. The distinctive racial groups, encountering the "color line" which prohibits free amalgamation and complete social absorption, have been much slower in following the more usual pattern.

The present situation as regards intergroup relationships in this country is extremely complex, having many differences from place to place, as between rural and urban settings, and changing with time. A part of the complexity has been a result of the conflict between the American ideals of political democracy and related notions, on the one hand, and the needs of economic regimentation coupled with traditional ethnocentrism, on the other. Despite ideals of equality of opportunity and treatment, there is much discrimination and a tacit assumption of Nordic white supremacy running through American ethnic group relationships. A high degree of spatial and social mobility are further complications, as has been a steady long-run rise in general living levels in the country. This latter has confronted both industry and agriculture with an ever-recurring need for cheap labor at the bottom of the labor pyramid which has been relieved only in part by increasing mechanization of agriculture and industry. A persisting aspect of the nation's ethnic problems is the existence of the fringe of marginal workers, recruited from whatever sources could be found at a given period of our development.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was the general cultural situation in the area now known as the United States before the arrival of Europeans?
2. What were some typical early accommodations of European colonists to Indians?
3. How did the territorial expansion of the United States affect these early accommodations?
4. Why has the adjustment of the Negro been so significant in American history?
5. Contrast the Old and the New immigrations.
6. What have been some of the results of the virtual stoppage of European immigration?
7. What appears to have been the typical "cycle" of ethnic relations in this country?
8. What is the approximate present racial distribution of the population of the United States?
9. Will this distribution change greatly in the foreseeable future? Why?
10. What basic conflict of attitude and treatment confuses present ethnic relations in this country?

SUGGESTED READINGS

BARNES, HARRY ELMER, and OREEN M. RUEDI, *The American Way of Life,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1950, 2d ed.

FAIRCHILD, HENRY PRATT, *Race and Nationality as Factors in American Life,* The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1947.

HANSEN, M. L., *The Immigrant in American History,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1940.

LORIMER, FRANK, ELLEN WINSTON, and L. K. KISER, *Foundations of American Population Policy,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1940.

MCWILLIAMS, CAREY, *Brothers under the Skin,* Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1943.

ROSE, ARNOLD M., *Race Prejudice and Discrimination,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1951.

SCHERMERHORN, RICHARD A., *These Our People,* D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1950.

TURNER, FREDERICK J., *The Frontier in American History,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1920.

WILLIAMS, ROBIN M., JR., *American Society; A Sociological Interpretation,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1951.

WITTKE, CARL, *We Who Built America,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1940.

CHAPTER 14

THE AMERINDIANS

For various reasons the adjustment difficulties of the Amerindians have a significance among the ethnic problems of the United States which is disproportionate to the number of people directly involved, for the Indian population of the continental United States is only about 350,000, or less than one-third of 1 per cent of the total. It is one ethnic group whose assimilation is at least potentially under control of the Federal government and who have, in their own right, treaty status and claims against the government, even though such claims are perhaps more notable for having been violated and ignored than for having been honored. They are also a group with a tangible claim against the conscience of the people of the United States, for it may well be contended that they hold hereditary right to the whole of the territory of what is now the United States, even though they actually hold and have use of a very small fraction of the land now, and what they have is mainly barren and comparatively useless.

There are Indians resident in every state of the United States, and in every stage of assimilation into the general population of the country. Undoubtedly a considerable number have been so completely absorbed into other population elements that knowledge of their Indian ancestry has long been lost. Others are variously recognized quarter-breed, half-breed, or full-blooded Indians although the exact degree of admixture or lack of it cannot definitely be known. According to Census Bureau estimates, about 60 per cent of the Indians of the country in 1910 were full-blooded, while the proportion of "pure" stock had declined to 46 per cent, or less than one half, in 1940. All these variations make any generalizations concerning Indian problems hazardous, but the term "Indian problem" is most usually applied to the reservation Indians who, as wards of the government, are primarily of public concern.

Interest in the reservation Indians centers mainly in three groups, the Navahos, the Pueblos, and the Apaches, all living chiefly in Arizona and New Mexico. These groups, containing about one-fourth of the Indians of the country, represent most clearly the culmination of the long history of Indian policy. They have been the least assimilative and, therefore, remain the most distinctive racially and culturally. In recent decades they

Amerindian Population by States *

STATE	POPULATION	STATE	POPULATION
Oklahoma	63,125	California	18,675
Arizona	55,076	Montana	16,841
New Mexico	34,510	Minnesota	12,528
South Dakota	23,347	Wisconsin	12,265
North Carolina	22,546	Washington	11,394

* Only states with 10,000 or more Indians are listed here.

SOURCE: U.S. Census, 1940.

have been the objects of sympathetic concern of the public, and they are confronted, in each case, with real and immediate problems. Writing mainly of these groups, one former high official of the Indian Service recently said: [1]

> A broad view of Indian history from 1492 until recent years shows a death hunt against the Indian societies. To many of the societies the death hunt brought annihilation, death everlasting. To others it brought wounds that seemed mortal; but with an astounding regenerative power they arose from the rubble. Harried into the wastes, secreted there for lifetimes, and starving, still the Indian grouphoods, languages, religions, culture systems, symbolisms, mental and emotional attitudes toward the self and the world, continued to live on. Not fossilized, unadaptive, not sealed into the past, but plastic, adaptive, assimilative, while yet faithful to their ancient values, these many societies somehow held their own. A few of them burgeoned right on through the centuries, and entered our own day with the noise and shine of waters gushing from their ancient sources. More, many more, sustained only a life covert, indrawn; but they sustained the core and genius of their way of life. When so very, very late, and perhaps for only a brief term of years (none can be sure, as yet), some of the white man's societies lifted their sentences of death from these all but invisible Indian societies, the response was a rush of human energy, a creativity industrial, civic, esthetic. How swiftly, with what flashing brilliance, with what terrible joy, these long immured, suddenly reprieved little societies demonstrated the truth which our age has lost: that societies are living things, sources of the power and values of their members; that to be and to function in a consciously living, aspiring, striving society is to be a personality fulfilled, is to be an energy delivered into the communal joy, a partner once more in the cosmic life.

All the Indian tribal groups of what is now the United States were preliterate at the time of the arrival of Europeans, and many of them remain so at the present time. All were living in the stone age of material culture development, although a few had made beginnings in the use of soft metals for ornamentation. These facts made the cultural gulf between the invaders and the aborigines a broad one, and one which, in the case of the reservation Indians of the Southwest, has not been bridged.

---

[1] John Collier, *The Indians of the Americas,* The New American Library of World Literature, New York, 1948, pp. 15–16.

THE NAVAHOS

Largest of the remaining Indian tribes of the country are the Navahos or, as they call themselves, *Dineh,* or "the people." They now number more than 60,000 and are increasing at an estimated rate of more than 1 per cent per year, even though their infant mortality and other mortality rates remain high. They live chiefly by raising livestock and practicing agriculture on their reservation, which lies in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, and retain largely their ancient clan organization and way of life. They speak their own aboriginal language and continue to practice their ancient religious ceremonials. As the Navahos have been much studied by anthropologists and others interested, a large literature has grown up about them and their customs.

At the time Europeans first encountered Navahos, these Indians were a nomadic tribe which lived by hunting and by frequent raids on the sedentary Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande Valley. They were soon engaged in intermittent warfare with the Spanish and Mexican colonists of the area, in which prisoners were taken by both sides, resulting in some admixture of blood. But for the most part the Navahos remained aloof, secure in their inhospitable semidesert homes. The acquisition from the Spaniard of the horse greatly increased the range of their wanderings and marauding and brought sweeping changes in their economy. They also acquired from the Spaniards flocks of sheep which helped stabilize their food supply and gave them wool for weaving.

When the United States Army took over the region during the War with Mexico, there was another abrupt change in store for the Navahos. More efficient in hunting them down than had been the colonists or Spanish soldiers, the American Army closed in upon and cornered the Navahos and took them as prisoners to Bosque Redondo, a site on the Pecos River several hundred miles from their native homes. This hegira was nearly the end for the Navaho people, for they died off in large numbers in captivity. When eventually they were returned to their former homes, now an Indian reservation, they were a much subdued people. There they remain to this day, but now again a vigorous, though impoverished, people, under protection and tutelage of the Federal government.

Navaho Social Organization. While the Navahos are spoken of as a tribe, there is little tribal organization. Their group life structure is centered in the clan and family units. The nature of their economy as well as their traditions are such that they have developed no communities beyond small and relatively transient clusterings of family dwellings.

> The hohrahn (usually rendered "hogan") is the movable center of the life of the Navajo. Set like a haystack on some high mesa or, more frequently, sheltered behind a hill or on a sunny slope, it must always be near a seep of water or a spring, except in winter when there is snow. Here the family is settled for the summer in a leafy brush shelter or in winter in a rock or log cabin daubed with clay. By custom the house will be located on the range claimed by the wife's clan. The summer home is often moved from one pasture ground to another; while the substantial winter hohrahn is used year after year, though it may be abandoned or burned because of a death in the household.
>
> Since the sheep must be moved often in a region where feed at best is very scant and where even a small band requires hundreds of acres of range, the members of the family which herd them must move with them. There can be no village community. At most, there will be, in some favored spot, a cluster of three or four hohrahns where the mother and her married daughters with their husbands and families may be living a part of the year and to which they may return from the summer wandering.
>
> In this, as in many other ways, the Navajo are quite different from Indians generally in North America; and it is often assumed that they have no idea of home in the Anglo-Saxon sense. The word for home in the Navajo language is *Sih-rahn,* but their common phrase, "my Mother's place," is quite as expressive. For the wife and mother is the focus not only of the family but of the economic life as well.[2]

The loose social organization characteristic of the Navahos is now supplemented by the superimposed organization of the Indian Service and other governmental agencies, which maintain headquarters on the reservation as well as several agencies to administer schools, hospitals, and other services for the Indians. The Indian Service on the Navaho reservation is increasingly manned by specially trained Navaho Indians, and under the government's encouragement, a tribal council has been established to give voice to Indian wishes where their own affairs are concerned.

Religion and Witchcraft. Most of the Navahos cling to their aboriginal Indian beliefs and ceremonies. Their beliefs are embodied in a number of myths and legends which have been passed down from generation to generation through a specialized priesthood. The ceremonials consist of several chants, or "sings," which periodically bring considerable groups together for several days and nights of ceremonial observances. Running through these ceremonials is the notion of healing by appeal to supernatural powers, and the medicine man is the principal figure in them. But the ceremonials serve other purposes as well, such as the socializing one of bringing together the family groups which live mainly in isolation from one another; of the spreading of news and gossip; and of bringing marriageable men and women into contact.

---

[2] Dane Coolidge and Mary Roberts Coolidge, *The Navajo Indians,* Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930, p. 33. There is little agreement on the spelling, necessarily phonetic, of Navaho words. The term Navaho itself is an example, some writers preferring the older Spanish rendition Navajo, in which the "j" is pronounced as "h" in English.

The Roman Catholic and several Protestant churches maintain missions, schools, and hospitals on the reservation, and through these have converted a considerable proportion of the Navahos to Christianity. This proportion is growing steadily but has not yet greatly affected the ceremonial life of the majority of Navahos.

While there is much of magic in the Navaho religion, the belief in and practice of witchcraft are quite separate from religion and are so recognized. The belief in witchcraft is quite prevalent among the Navaho people, and from time to time there have been public accusations of persons suspected of practicing witchcraft. Historically it is to be noted that one Navaho leader brought about the execution of forty persons following such public accusations and "trials." The Navaho witchcraft beliefs extend especially to neighboring Pueblo Indians to whom they ascribe certain dark powers as well as the ability to cure persons afflicted by witches' spells. While the beliefs are widespread, because witchcraft is practiced in the greatest secrecy, the actual extent of the practice is unknown. Kluckhohn says: [3]

> The generalization may be repeated that essentially all Navaho seem to share this fear to some degree, but the intensity of the fear varies greatly from area to area, from individual to individual, and among the same individuals from time to time and from situation to situation. It is my impression that women, as a group, characteristically manifest more anxiety about witchcraft than do the men, as a group. The unacculturated Navaho strongly tends to accept the use of supernatural techniques for socially disapproved ends as an inevitable part of the nature of things. Indeed, several informants volunteered remarks such as "witches are needed for rain—just as much as the good side" which would indicate such malevolent activities were actually necessary to the natural equilibrium. . . .

---

[3] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft,* papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1944, Vol. XXII, No. 2, p. 14.

Acculturation. The acculturation of the Navahos, as far as it has advanced, is mainly evident in historic changes which have come about in their economy. The introduction of horses and sheep made of them a largely pastoral people, and even earlier they had learned crude agriculture from their Pueblo neighbors. More recently, under government sponsorship, there have been developed a number of limited irrigation projects on which modern agriculture, mechanized and efficient, has taken the place of cruder methods. The Navahos have also become famed for their crafts, especially blanket weaving and the hand manufacture of silver and turquoise ornaments, objects which have a considerable sale to tourists and others off the reservation and high trade value in dealing with other Indians. Those Navahos who live near the borders of the reservation engage in part or full-time wage labor at various kinds of employment, from domestic service to skilled mechanical trades.

The principal contacts of the Indians with the culture of the whites have been, until recently, through the few traders who have established posts on or near the Navaho reservation, and upon whom the reservation economy has largely depended both as outlets for Indian products and as sources of supply of food and other material goods needed by the Indians. Supplementing the contacts with the traders were the less frequent contacts with missionaries and their schools and hospitals. Later there were a few contacts with anthropologists and other interested persons who went into the reservation to study the Indians, and with officials of the Indian Service. In recent years, the expansion of the Indian Service and increased access through better roads into the reservation have made of the Indian Service official the principal and most important cultural contact, and the increasing number of day schools on the reservation has brought systematic education to increasing numbers of Navaho children.

Probably the most significant extension in the range of cultural contacts came with the two World Wars, especially the Second, during which many thousands of Navahos entered the armed services and other thousands went into war industries or far afield to help relieve the shortage of agricultural labor. At present, largely because of such experiences, the Navahos, and especially the younger among them, have a much more complete knowledge of the dominant culture than had any previous generations. What effect this wider range of contacts will eventually have on the Navaho life ways remains in doubt, but it appears from present evidence that a greatly speeded acculturation will take place.

There is also evidence that the Federal government is more aware than at any previous time of the problems involved in speeded acculturation of the Navahos and is planning ahead to cope with them. A Department of the Interior Report, published in 1948, said in its opening paragraphs: [4]

> This *Report on the Navajo* presents a long range program of rehabilitation of the Navajo Indians, a group of American citizens now confronted with frustrations, disease, and hardship. The program would provide, in essence, adequate education, health, and other public service facilities, the development of physical and other subsistence resources on the Navajo Reservation, and assistance in obtaining stable employment or occupation off the reservation.
>
> The complexity of the problem faced in preparing and executing a comprehensive program is well expressed by Kluckhohn and Leighton (Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea S. Leighton, *The Navaho,* Harvard University Press, 1946, p. xvi) as follows:
>
> "In recent years the Navahos have become the nation's foremost Indian problem. The social and economic assimilation or adjustment of so large a minority group could never be, at best, a simple matter. Their rapid increase in numbers continues, and the adjacent areas can no longer absorb the overflow. Moreover, the resources of their own ancient lands have been shockingly depleted by erosion. How are The People to make a living? Today, too, the Navahos are facing, for the first time in their completeness and full intensity, these difficult questions: How are the people to live with white Americans? What alien ways must they learn if they are to survive? How much of the old pattern of life can they safely and even profitably preserve?"

As the Navahos increase in numbers and their reservation becomes less able to provide for them, the problem of acculturation will increasingly lie off the reservation and, to a considerable extent, in urban centers where they must look for employment. This trend of affairs is already under way, and it lends urgency to various problems. Another report, also published in 1948, says in part: [5]

> One need not go far afield to show what will happen to the unprepared and unprotected Navajo as he goes out to make his way in the world. A visit to Gallup, to Bluewater, to Winslow, or to Phoenix is very revealing. Hotels and restaurants are closed to him. He cannot use public toilets. He is tolerated for his "local color," his labor, his money. Otherwise he is undesirable and is treated with suspicion and as a member of an inferior race. As agricultural workers in the carrot fields near Bluewater, New Mexico, the Navajos have to live in pathetic slab-side hovels which seem more like second-rate outhouses than homes. Sanitation, community services, recreation, and the like are functions so far removed from the disgusting reality there that it seems almost ridiculous to refer to them in the same sentence with these miserable settlements. And so it goes, this object lesson of what happens to the Navajos when

---

[4] *The Navajo,* report of J. A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948, p. v.

[5] George I. Sanchez, *"The People"; A Study of the Navajos,* United States Indian Service, 1948, pp. 17–18.

they leave the reservation—and what will happen to them tomorrow in larger measure when, ready or not, many thousands of them must leave their traditional homes if they are to avoid starvation.

The Navajo Village, near Gallup on U.S. Highway 66, which houses the Indians who work at the Wingate Ordnance Depot, is a much better situation. But, while the housing is good at present, this is cheap housing and highly temporary. Unless improved, and unless basic community education and service is provided, it won't be long before this is a slum. Properly directed, this community could become a craft town—clean, dignified, valuable. However, to accomplish such reforms here or elsewhere in off-reservation settlements, the combined efforts of chambers of commerce, government agencies, and the Navajos are needed.

What is true of the largest Indian tribe of the country can by no means be considered as typical of all Indians because, as has been stated previously, there is great variation in the degrees of acculturation of the various tribal groups, as well as in their life circumstances. Some Indian groups are in much more favorable positions regarding both their present status and their future outlook, others are in even more critical situations as regards individual and group welfare. Both similarities and contrasts may be found in the closest neighbors of the Navahos, the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico.

THE PUEBLO INDIANS

Instead of living on one reservation and in one great tribal group as do the Navahos, the Pueblo Indians live in twenty-five villages, most of them in or near the upper Rio Grande Valley, but others far to the west in the semidesert areas of Arizona, in country much like that occupied by the Navahos. The largest of the pueblos,[6] Laguna, has about 1,800 inhabitants, and the smallest, Picuris, fewer than 100. The Pueblos are traditionally sedentary, agricultural, and town-dwelling, in contrast to the seminomadic Navahos. They lived in permanent villages and systematically cultivated the soil hundreds of years before the first Europeans reached America, and at the time of the first contact with the whites they were already engaged in trade and other relations, sometimes limited warfare, with the Navahos and other Indians surrounding the Pueblo region.

Their first experience with whites was with the Spaniards and mestizo colonists who came up from Mexico. As previously indicated, these early

[6] The term *pueblo,* Spanish for "town," is used widely in the Southwest to designate the Indian village and at the same time as a tribal name for the Indians who live in the villages. This accounts for the use of the capital initial letter in some instances but not in others.

contacts were not always happy ones, for the Spaniards and colonists were prone to exploit the Indians. They were converted to Christianity by the Roman Catholic missionaries, but they adopted the new religion without abandoning their ancient mode of worship, which was a highly developed ceremonialism reinforced by a rich heritage of myths and legends. It was the early policy of the missionaries to concentrate the Pueblo populations in villages adjacent to the mission churches to make them more accessible both for conversion and for labor on mission lands. In this process many of the small and remote pueblos were abandoned as their inhabitants moved into the larger and more central villages.

The Pueblos speak several native languages, and each village has its own dialect. Like the Navahos, the Pueblos have no written language and, while excellent builders and efficient cultivators, their aboriginal crafts were of the Stone Age. They had no domesticated animals except the dog and the turkey when the Europeans first encountered them, but after the introduction of livestock by the Mexican colonists they rapidly supplemented their agricultural economy by stock raising.

After a century of Spanish rule, the Pueblos revolted and drove the Spaniards and Mexican colonists and missionaries from the upper Rio Grande Valley back into what is now Mexico. They maintained their new independence for a dozen years before they were reconquered; and since they have been subject, first to Spanish rule, then to that of Mexico after Mexico won its independence from Spain, and then to that of the United States after the War with Mexico. Through these changing regimes each village has succeeded in maintaining a large degree of autonomy and self-rule, which has been recognized by the United States since taking over the area. They lost much of their land to the white invaders, and several of their larger villages were abandoned because of shrinking resources. Those which remain are firmly established in the ownership and control of their tribal lands which are guaranteed by the Federal government against further encroachment.

The Pueblos have traditionally strong, central, theocratic government in each village, with policy control in the hands of the *cacique,* or priest, and a council of elders. This is true today, even though this governing body has been supplemented since the coming of American rule by elected governors and lieutenant governors in each village, functionaries whose powers are secondary to those of the traditional council. The people of each pueblo are divided by custom into two moieties and numerous clans. The familial organization is of secondary significance to the clan and community organization and controls, which are all-pervading in civil and ceremonial matters. A remarkable feature of the Pueblo life is the extent to which religious ceremonialism enters into every aspect of individual and group activity.

The Pueblos declined in numbers, probably beginning before the first European contacts and more rapidly thereafter, until a few decades ago. Now, as in the case of the Navahos, they are rapidly increasing to the extent that population constitutes a steady strain on their limited resources. In economic situation, the Pueblos differ. Some are relatively prosperous, others are impoverished. Traditionally, among the Pueblos, land is communally owned and controlled, although individually worked. Homes are owned by families, and personal belongings are individual property. Their general attitudes toward property and wealth are illustrated by a description of Zuñi in New Mexico: [7]

> Economic affairs are always as comparatively unimportant in Zuñi as they are in determining the family alignments. Like all the Pueblos, and perhaps in greater degree than the rest, Zuñi is rich. It has gardens and peach orchards and sheep and silver and turquoise. These are important to a man when they make it possible for him to have a mask made for himself, or to pay for the learning of ritual, or to entertain the tribal masked gods at the Shalako. For this last he must build a new house for the gods to bless at housewarming. All that year he must feed the cult members who build for him, he must provide the great beams for the rafters, he must entertain the whole tribe at the final ceremony. There are endless responsibilities he must assume. For this purpose he will plant heavily the year before and increase his herd. He will receive help from his clan group, all of which he must return in kind. Riches used in this way are of course indispensable to a man of prestige, but neither he nor anyone else is concerned with the reckoning of possessions, but with the ceremonial role which he has taken. A "valuable family" in native parlance is always a family which owns permanent fetishes, and a man of importance is one who has undertaken many ceremonial roles.

During the Spanish colonial era there was considerable intermarriage between some of the Pueblos, those most closely in contact with nearby Spanish settlements, and the Spanish and mestizo colonists. In some cases intermarriage went so far that the Indian village eventually became a Spanish community. Most of the Pueblos, however, resisted amalgamation and remained aloof and largely intact except for conversion to Christianity and the encroachments on their tribal lands. Because of their picturesque location and customs, the Pueblos attracted early and favorable attention from Americans after the United States took over the area, and when migrations from eastern states began. This attention often led to efforts to "help" the Indians, sometimes wisely and successfully, more often with unanticipated and near-tragic results. One such effort is described in a research paper: [8]

---

[7] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture,* Penguin Books, Inc., New York, 1947, 3d printing, p. 70.

> An interesting experiment in cultural revival has been attempted at the pueblo of San Ildefonso. The Indians were encouraged to produce better pottery and to return to the production of traditional forms and decorations. Craftsmanship in pottery was greatly improved, and it seemed that the ancient art of pottery making had been revitalized, with the additional advantage of a new source of income to bolster the declining resources of the pueblo. The discovery of a new technique of pottery production led to the standardization of the product, and introduction of quantity manufacture, and to repetitive craftsmanship in the place of spontaneity and originality. The effects of the artistic revival on the life of the pueblo have been marked. It has disorganized the customary division of labor. Men had formerly done the outside work, but many became assistants to their wives and decorated pottery. Farming and subsistence activities were neglected in pursuit of the commercialized pottery enterprise. The dependence of the pueblo on cash income was increased. The pueblo has, since the introduction of commercial pottery, been split into two irreconcilable factions, and the cooperative attitudes of the Indians have been displaced by competitive attitudes. The pottery making industry at San Ildefonso is not, from the standpoint of the Indians, the traditional home industry which formerly flourished in the pueblos; nor is it viewed by the Indians as a source of spiritual rebirth, but as a source of cash. . . .

The case of San Ildefonso, while illustrative of other well-intentioned movements in other pueblos, is by no means typical of all. In some instances efforts were made to stamp out Pueblo ceremonials, especially at Taos, on the grounds that they were immoral and indecent, but these efforts were unsuccessful. There is an obvious and significant difference between the pueblos which are located near large urban centers and on principal highways and those which are farther removed and away from highways. In the former group acculturation has advanced far, but always with disruptive effects upon the Indians both as groups and as individuals. The latter, or remote pueblos, remain relatively self-contained, better organized, and more virile.

The Pueblos, like the Navahos, are wards of the Federal government and subject to policies of the Indian Service which maintains schools, hospitals, and other services for them. As in the case of the Navahos, there are indications that the Indian Service is now aware of the problems which confront them in the pueblos and has developed comprehensive plans for dealing with them. They include such immediate and practical concerns as the inadequacy of existing pueblo lands, needs for supplemental income, and the gulf of misunderstanding which still exists between the Pueblos and their white neighbors.

---

[8] Charles E. Hutchinson, "A Study of Acculturation Processes in the Indian Pueblos of the Rio Grande Valley," abstract of a dissertation prepared for the University of Southern California, University of Southern California Press, 1941.

As in the case of the Navahos, the Second World War had deep effects upon the Pueblos. The younger members of the tribes went by scores into the armed services, to war industries, or to other occupations where demands were created by war conditions. These younger people, upon returning to their villages, were dissatisfied with life as they found it. There has been a demand for greater freedom of individual action, there is less of the traditional veneration for the aged, and there is impatience with the stern authority of the pueblo theocratic councils. All this has led to disruption of the traditional tribal unity and, in cases, to open schisms within the compact communities, the eventual results of which are as yet incalculable. One obvious result has been acceleration of acculturation in some aspects of activity.

Under the increasing pressure on subsistence resulting from growing population in the pueblos, more and more Pueblo individuals and families have been forced to make adjustments outside the tribal holdings, and often in urban centers near their home villages. In such outside adjustments, the Pueblos have found themselves disadvantaged and inadequately prepared, and they have met with both social and economic discriminations.

THE APACHES AND OTHER GROUPS

The Apache Indians were among the last to give strong and active resistance to the American government, and they gained reputations for being among the most warlike and ruthless of Indians. Occupying an area near the border of Mexico, they could raid back and forth across the international boundary and thus make pursuit difficult for the American troops who were assigned the task of subduing them. Eventually they were confined to three reservations: the San Carlos in Arizona, and the Mescalero and Jicarilla in New Mexico. Relatively few in numbers, they have become more acculturated, in most respects, than either the Navahos or the Pueblos. Their tribal life has been largely disrupted and, formerly nomadic, they have become sedentary livestock-raising and farming groups. Parts of their ceremonial life have been retained, but they are more nearly Americanized in both activities and attitudes than the other Indians which have been discussed.

Most of the other Indians of the United States have, to an even greater extent, given up their tribal organizations and ancient life ways to become more or less completely acculturated within the dominant American group. Except occasionally and locally, they no longer present a "problem." They have, to a considerable extent, intermixed with other elements of the population, and thus have largely lost their distinctiveness and even their "visibility."

Amerindian Population by Linguistic Stock

STOCK	TRIBES	POPULATION
Iroquoian . . .	Iroquois, Wyandot, Cherokee, Kiowa	52,457
Athapascan	Navaho, Apache	47,418 *
Algonquin . . .	Arapaho, Blackfeet, Cheyenne, Chippewa, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Fox, Gros Ventres, Ottawa, Menominee, Potawatomi	40,670
Siouan	Crow, Dakota, Ponca, Osage, Mandan	37,329
Muskhogean . .	Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole	33,633
Shoshonean . .	Bannock, Comanche, Hopi, Paiute, Ute, Shoshone	15,985
Unclassified . .	Includes most of Pueblos	35,000

* Present estimates place the number of Navaho at more than 60,000.

Source: U.S. Census, 1940.

Oklahoma has a numerically larger Indian population than any other state, as would be expected from the fact that the state includes the former Indian Territory in which the five "civilized" tribes from the southeastern states were confined. There are thirty tribes in Oklahoma, living on twenty-seven reservations, most of these being small in size but containing some valuable lands. The Osages became wealthy Indians, by Indian standards, in the 1920's owing to the development of oil production on a large scale on their lands. Most of the Oklahoma Indians are almost completely acculturated, even those who continue to hold tribal lands and to live in their own communities.

CONTROL OF INDIANS

From the time of the first contact between the Europeans and the Amerindians, there have been many problems of adjustment, but probably the most difficult and persistent one has had to do with land ownership. The Europeans had a keen sense of the exclusive individual ownership of land and used measurements and precise boundaries in defining such ownership. But to the American aboriginals land was a communal possession, to be used as required, but only in the vaguest sense was it "owned." Yet the Indians were entirely dependent upon land, whether for hunting or for the practice of their crude agriculture.

The British government offered a solution to the difficulty by treating the Indian tribes as sovereign nations and dealing with them by treaties. This policy was used by the United States government later, and under the "commerce clause" of the Constitution, dealings with the Indians became the prerogative of the Federal government. Under both British rule and that of the United States the treaties which were made were often unrealistic, both because they were misunderstood and because neither the loose tribal authorities nor the white governments had sufficient control over individuals to enforce their solemn commitments. Thus treaties were often broken and became sources of frequent conflict. An early Supreme Court decision which held that treaties made with Indians could be unilaterally revised by act of Congress placed the government's policy largely at the mercy of pressure groups and made possible the progressive deprivation of the Indians of their land holdings.

The principal pressure was from the land-hungry white farmers, always desirous of obtaining more and more of the Indian lands. This meant that the Indians were removed from one holding after another. The establishment of reservations in the West eventually gave the Indians firmer tenure, but usually on lands so undesirable that the tribes rapidly became impoverished and dependent upon the government for doles of food, clothing, and other necessities.

The Allotment Act of 1887 was meant as a program for more rapid assimilation of the Indians by making them individually owners of plots of land supposedly sufficient for their individual and family support. Each of the Indians getting an allotment of land was to hold it under government control for 25 years and then take it over in fee simple with the right to dispose of the holdings as they saw fit. Amendments later added to the Act made it easier for Indians to encumber and dispose of their allotments, and provided that surplus lands left over on reservations after the tribal members had been given their allotments would revert to the government which could open them to homesteading by white farmers. The effects of the Act were disastrous for many Indians. In 1887, when the Act became law, lands in the hands of Indian tribes amounted to 137 million acres, while in 1928, when there was a radical change in Indian land policy, there were only 50 million acres left in Indian hands. Nor was that the whole story, for the lands which were lost to the Indians were the best, and those which remained in Indian hands were, for the most part, the least desirable and least productive.

The so-called New Deal for the Indians, the name often given to the present policy of the Indian Service and the Federal government, grew out of the Reorganization Act of 1933, which, in turn, was a product of a thorough investigation of Indian affairs. Under this new Act, policy has been directed at both the economic rehabilitation of the Indians and their gradual introduction to self-government as a prelude to political maturity. The Indian lands have been protected and enlarged by government purchases, and larger expenditures have gone into schools, hospitals, and other services. Important in the present policy is the greater tendency to use findings of anthropologists, sociologists, and other experts as the basis for planning for the reservations.

State Controls. From the very beginning of the national existence of the United States, the Federal government has dominated dealings with the Indians, but there has existed, and continues, some ambiguity as to the jurisdictions of the various states in which the Indians are resident. Although the Federal government set aside ample lands for Indians in the South after the Louisiana Purchase, some of the states resisted the Federal government's control and threatened to take the management of Indian affairs into their own hands. The pressure behind this stand on the part of some states was chiefly from the desire of white frontiersmen for more and more land, and especially for the better land held by the Indians. The ultimate resolution of the difficulty was the removal of the five "civilized" tribes—the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole tribes—from the southeastern states to Indian Territory which was later to become a part of the state of Oklahoma.

Although all Amerindians were presumably citizens, those living on reservations as wards of the government had no vote until the franchise was given them by Act of Congress in 1924 in recognition of their services during the First World War. Even then, the two states most concerned because of the large proportionate size of their Indian populations, Arizona and New Mexico, refused to permit reservation Indians to vote on the ground, largely, that they paid no taxes and therefore were not entitled to the full privileges of citizenship. It was not until 1947 that a Supreme Court decision forced the two states to grant the Indians the franchise they held in other states.

A similar problem arose in those two states in regard to inclusion of

Indians under the social-security provisions administered by the states. In this case there were two arguments advanced by the states, even after they had been ordered by the national social-security authorities to include reservation Indians: one was that the anticipated load of Indian relief would bankrupt the states; the other, that since the Indians paid no taxes into social-security funds they were entitled to no benefits.

The exemption of Indian lands from taxation has long been a sore point with the southwestern states, especially in Arizona and New Mexico where half the entire land area of the states is public land and therefore not subject to taxation for state purposes. There is also the recurring difficulty arising out of the exemption of Indians on reservations from jurisdiction of state laws, criminal or otherwise.

In New Mexico, in particular, contrasts are publicly drawn between the paternalistic treatment of the Indians resident in the state by the Federal government, and that of the large native Spanish-speaking group, the needs of which are presumably comparable. Since the Spanish-speaking group is large enough to wield considerable political power, such arguments carry some weight. While the Indians in the state have been well protected in their land holdings since the American conquest, a large proportion of the Spanish-speaking people have lost theirs, often by tax delinquencies. This issue becomes especially acute when the Indian reservations are enlarged at the expense of adjoining lands to which the Spanish-speaking people feel that they have some claim.

The Indian Problem Today. The fate of the Amerindians in the United States is more nearly in the hands of the Federal government than is that of any other sizable group in the population and, to that extent, is simpler of solution. Yet, as has been shown in the past, the government must always be somewhat responsive to various pressures brought upon it by interested parties. There are many groups interested in the course of Indian affairs, and their interests are by no means identical. What constitutes the present Indian problem is summed up by one anthropologist: [9]

> Questions of Indian Bureau policy, which have been fermenting for years, were brought to a head by World War II and the return of the Indian veterans whose experiences have broadened their visions and desires. Certain factors of great importance in their effects upon the Indians of today were nonexistent ten years ago and of little import even five years back. Even the best informed can not clearly predict all the future results of a policy of continued wardship, of gradually discontinued wardship, or of precipitate freedom, which could

---

[9] Florence Hawley, *The Indian Problem in New Mexico,* Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, No. 15, May, 1948, p. 1.

give to the Indian not only the rights and privileges but also the dangers of exploitation existent in the American system of free enterprise and competition. Apart from such imponderables, the lack of specific information on economic, educational, and social forces influencing any governmental move and the probable results of such a move on some 236,000 human beings now on reservations under government control is hampering clear thinking on the question. On both sides are persons whose sincere intention is the welfare of the Indian. Others hope to acquire Indian lands or labor cheaply. Some fear the Indian vote, or would prefer that funds spent on Indian administration be allocated elsewhere. But the Indian problem is not an issue to be ballyhooed, not a matter on which opponents' questions are justly dodged by such vague and emotionally-charged phrases as a "square deal." Cause and result relationships must be examined item by item. Good intentions have never been a fair working substitute for serious observation, synthesis, and education.

Indian Views. The Indians, even those least acculturated reservation groups, are far from agreement among themselves in their evaluations of their present situation and future prospects. In recent years several of the Pueblos have been divided to the point of open hostility over their internal affairs, usually involving issues of grave concern to their tribal ways. While, in dealing with those outside the pueblos, most of the Indians have remained reticent and inarticulate, a few have arisen as "agitators," who have made insistent demands on Congress and the Indian agencies presumably in the name of their tribes. Their appeals have usually stressed the obvious injustices in the past treatment of Indians, and insisted upon some kind of retribution most usually in the form of compensation.

SUMMARY

The Amerindians, at one time the possessors of the American continent in what is now the United States, have declined in numbers and holdings until they now make up but an insignificant numerical proportion of the total population and possess only a relatively small acreage of poor land. As wards of the government, the reservation Indians are considered as the present "Indian problem," and more than is true of any other group in the country, the solution lies with policies of the Federal government.

There are about 350,000 Indians in the country. Of this number fewer than half are considered as "full-bloods," the remainder being classed as half-bloods and quarter-bloods. About one-third of the Indian population live off the reservations, another one-third are allotment Indians in course of gaining individual title to lands, and the remaining one-third are reservation Indians whose lands are still group possessions under the guarantee and protection of the government. It is this last third which is as yet least assimilated.

The largest single tribe are the Navahos of Arizona and New Mexico, a relatively impoverished group which in recent years has been growing so rapidly that the population now constitutes a strain on existing reservation resources, while problems of adjusting to the surrounding whites have become acute.

In a somewhat better situation are the Pueblos, or town-dwelling Indians of the same area, living in twenty-five villages in the Rio Grande Valley and on semidesert mesas to the west well into Arizona. They, too, are growing in numbers, and there is division among them as a result of the recent war experiences of their younger tribal members.

After a long history of policy changes and reversals which have brought much confusion into Indian affairs, the Indian Service appears now to have a better understanding of its problem than in the past, and a more definite policy of gradual economic and political assimilation for the remaining reservation Indians. The policies are subject, however, to pressures from interested groups in the dominant culture, whose interests vary. The Indians themselves are not in agreement as to what governmental policy should be toward them.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What considerations make the Indian problem important for the United States out of proportion to the number of people directly involved?
2. What are the approximate proportions among Indians of this country as to degree of supposed racial purity? As to status in relationship to the Federal government?
3. Where, in the United States, are the principal present concentrations of Indians?
4. Under what conditions have Indians become assimilated into the larger national group, and under what conditions has assimilation been retarded?
5. Which are the principal unassimilated reservation tribes at present?
6. How has the Second World War affected the situation as regards acculturation and assimilation of these tribes?
7. How have considerations of land ownership complicated relations of Indians and others in this country?
8. What are the salient points in the "New Deal" for the reservation Indians?
9. Why have some states resisted enfranchisement of the Indians?
10. How do problems of ethnic adjustment of Indians of the United States differ from those of Canada? Of Mexico?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Collier, John, *The Indians of the Americas,* The New American Library of World Literature, New York, 1948.

Coolidge, Dane, and Mary Roberts Coolidge, *The Navajo Indians,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1930.

Eggan, Frederick, *Social Anthropology of the North American Indians,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1937.

Embree, E. R., *Indians of the Americas,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1939.

Hewett, Edgar Lee, *Ancient Life in the American Southwest,* Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1930.

LaFarge, Oliver (ed.), *The Changing Indian,* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla., 1942.

Linton, Ralph (ed.), *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes,* Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York, 1940.

Mead, Margaret, *The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1932.

Thomas, Alfred B., *After Coronado,* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla., 1935.

Thompson, Laura, and Alice Joseph, *The Hopi Way,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1945.

Wissler, Clark, *Indians of the United States; Four Centuries of Their History and Culture,* Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York, 1940.

CHAPTER 15

THE AMERICAN NEGROES: HISTORY

THE FIRST NEGROES to reach what is now the United States were not slaves, but explorers and adventurers who accompanied Europeans in their expeditions to open up the New World. Early Spanish records of the conquest of New Spain indicate that considerable numbers of Negroes took part in their various expeditions, including those into what is now the American Southwest. Records show, as well, that Negroes accompanied the French Jesuit missionaries in their early inroads into the area of what is now the United States. There appear to have been no Negroes, however, among the English and Dutch colonists.

THE SLAVE TRADE

These earliest Negroes, however, were few in number as far as this country is concerned and are of little except historical interest. The story of the racial and cultural adjustment problems which the Africans brought to the United States begins properly with the slave trade, and even in this case the beginnings, in the colonial period, were small and slow. Twenty Negroes were landed in Virginia in 1619 by a Dutch vessel from Africa and were received as "servants," following the indenture plan under which many poor whites from England were employed in the various colonies for limited periods. For several generations there were only a few shipments of Negroes into Virginia and other colonies, and these usually were held for limited periods of servitude, then released. It was 1661 before the colony of Virginia took statutory recognition of slaves and provided that they might be held as property for their entire lives, thus ensuring continuous service of Negro labor.

By that time a lucrative and large African slave trade had already reached its peak in the West Indian islands and had begun to decline. Some of these islands had become overpopulated by the large importations of Negro slaves, and on several the Negro population outnumbered the whites. First used for cultivation of tobacco, the Negro slaves had been shifted primarily to the growing of sugar cane when the tobacco prices began to decline in Europe, and surpluses of slaves were transshipped to the mainland in unknown numbers.

Spread and Growth. It was some time after the introduction of African "servants" into Virginia that Negro slaves first made their appearance in other southern colonies. Small numbers were next brought into Maryland, where, as in Virginia, they first were fitted into the preexisting indentured servant scheme, and growth in numbers was gradual. When the colony of Carolina was founded, the promoters proceeded to encourage the slave trade with subsidies of land for those who imported slaves, planning thus to build up the cultivation of rice plantations rapidly. The colony of Georgia, planned as a refuge for freed English convicts, at the start forbade the importation of Negro slaves, a prohibition that held until well into the eighteenth century.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the slave trade to the colonies was well under way and growing rapidly. Early in that century there had been some apprehension in Virginia because the population included 12,000 Negroes compared with 18,000 whites, and some counties had a majority of Negroes while the number of Negroes appeared to be growing more rapidly than the number of whites. The Negroes outnumbered the whites in the Carolinas. Added to this, the slaves had become restive and had shown some signs of revolt in various localities.

Negroes were introduced into the colonies of New Amsterdam, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New England later than in the southern colonies, and their numbers did not grow so rapidly. As in the case of Virginia, they were first treated as indentured servants, later as slaves, but the slavery of the middle and New England colonies appears to have met considerable local humanitarian resistance from the start, and to have been much ameliorated by laws protecting the slaves from harsh treatment. The local resistance to Negro slavery was strongest in Pennsylvania where the Quakers were opposed to the institution from the beginning, and in the first few years of the eighteenth century efforts to curb the importation of Negroes by high import taxes were made in that colony.

Outside Influences. The earliest slave trade in the Americas was carried on by the Portuguese who, early in the sixteenth century, held a virtual monopoly on the western African coast. Later in that century and early in the seventeenth, the monopoly was challenged by various European countries and their traders, notably the Dutch, who came, in turn, to have something of a monopoly of the American slave trade. The Dutch traders were aggressive in pushing the slave trade in North America and accounted for its beginnings and early growth in what is now the United States.

A turning point of importance came when the English challenged the

Dutch monopoly in the first half of the seventeenth century and came to dominate the trade by the latter part of that century. Many of the English companies engaged in the slave trade also had financial stakes in the American colonies, and they used the one interest to further the other. The English held several of the West Indian islands which were convenient transshipment points in their slave trade, especially of the Negroes destined for the North American colonies.

By early in the eighteenth century shipowners and commercial interests of New England became interested in the lucrative trade in African Negroes. Unable, with their small vessels, to compete on equal terms with the large European countries engaged in the slave trade, they nevertheless made progressive inroads into it and became instrumental in promoting the growth of the trade in the colonies.

The harshness and cruelties of the slave trade itself are well known. The Negroes were secured from African posts after having been captured by certain African tribes which trafficked with the white ship captains. They were brought to the West Indies in overcrowded ships, and the incidence of death and serious illness on the trip was exceedingly high. In America the Negroes were sold at auction and became subject to the slave codes which several of the colonies had seen fit to enact in order to keep down the possibility of slave revolt.

Slavery as an Institution. Despite the misgivings of many of the North American colonists and the humanitarian protests from a few, the agricultural economy of the southern region became increasingly geared to extensive use of slave labor.

> By the middle of the eighteenth century, slavery in the United States was an integral part of the maturing economic system. There had been protests against the slave trade, some colonies had imposed almost prohibitive import duties, and some religious groups, notably the Quakers, had questioned the right of one man to hold another in bondage. There had been, however, no frontal attack upon the institution, and even in the northern colonies, where there was no extensive use of slaves, the majority of the articulate colonists paid little attention to slavery. Their preoccupation with economic and political relations with England doubtless accounted for the widespread indifference with which they regarded slavery. The colonial problems were so urgent that little time was left in which the colonists could concern themselves over humanitarian matters. If there could be assurance that Negroes would neither conspire to rebel nor offer aid and comfort to the French or the Indians, there seemed to be little reason to be concerned over their condition.[1]

[1] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of the American Negroes,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1947, p. 125.

The "American Dilemma." With the approach of the American Revolution it became apparent to those interested in framing the case against British rule that the existence of human slavery in the colonies constituted a major contradiction and a moral weakness in the growing cause. There was some pressure to include a pronouncement against slavery in the Declaration of Independence, which was avoided, however, as a necessary compromise to maintain unity among the colonies. Thus Americans became aware of what Gunnar Myrdal, in a recent study, has called the "American dilemma," between political and humanitarian idealism, and economic and social expediency; a dilemma which was to become sharper throughout American history.

The Revolutionary War itself brought up the problem of the use of Negro troops, free and slave, in the Continental Army. Most of the American leaders, including General Washington, strongly opposed the use of Negroes, largely from fear of armed uprisings among them. It was the British who forced the issue by opening their armies in the country to Negroes and by making strong appeals, especially to slaves, which had a highly disorganizing effect, especially in Virginia. It was finally necessary for the American Army to open enlistment both to free Negroes and to slaves. Of about 300,000 men who served in the Continental Army, about 5,000 were Negroes, mainly from the North, but some from all states. In fact, Negroes took part in every phase of fighting in the war.

As a reward for loyalty and service in the army, there was a wave of manumission, or voluntary freeing of slaves who had given service in the North and in Virginia. Several of the northern states, including Pennsylvania and several in New England, enacted legislation to end slavery immediately, or gradually over a period of a few years. Other states, including Virginia, adopted legislation to facilitate and encourage manumission. There was a strong movement, having some support in southern states, to put an end to slavery in the Constitution when it was written, and bitter debates ensued. Finally, as a practical necessity, the Constitution was enacted without such provision, and the question of slavery left to the various states. The abolition movement was well launched, however, and when the Northwest Territory was organized in 1787, it was with a provision forbidding slavery within its boundaries.

A DIVIDED NATION

As the United States began its independent national career, it was already a nation divided on the issue of slavery. The statistical picture at the time is revealing. The new nation had a population estimated at 4 million, of whom more than three-fourths of a million, or about one-fifth, were Negroes.

Ninety per cent of these Negroes lived in the South, and in many areas and localities they constituted a majority of the population. Of the total Negro population, more than one-fourth were freemen, the remainder slaves. The proportion of freemen, of course, was greater in the North and smallest in the far southern states.

The adoption of the new Constitution left an uneasy equilibrium which was greatly disturbed by events of the closing years of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth. As a by-product of the French Revolution, the Negro slaves of Haiti revolted and gained their freedom after the bloody massacre of their white masters. This brought about a situation in which France was willing to sell the Louisiana Territory, which the United States purchased in 1803, greatly expanding the new nation's area and opening up vast new lands for cotton culture in the South. This latter effect was especially important in view of the invention of the cotton gin solving technical problems which had delayed large-scale cotton culture. The news of the Haiti revolt had a sobering effect on the southern slave states, and for several years the importation of slaves was prohibited by state decrees; but the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory gave a new impetus, and soon slaves were again being imported by the thousands.

England had outlawed the slave trade, and there was a strong and growing movement in the northern states of the United States to do the same, which culminated legislatively in Federal laws, enacted in 1808, making such traffic illegal. The actual effect of the laws was to drive the slave trade underground where it continued to grow and flourish with the stimulation of an ever-increasing demand as planters opened new lands for cultivation in the West.

The institution of slavery continued to grow rapidly in the United States throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of the War between the States; and as it grew, the opposition, principally in the North, became stronger and increasingly active. The number of slaves increased from about three-fourths of a million in 1790, to about 2 million in 1830, and about 4 million at the time of the war. Immediately after the Revolutionary War, owing largely to the widespread practice of manumission, the number of free Negroes had grown about as rapidly as the number of slaves, but later, with increasing fear of the free Negroes in the South, the number of slaves grew far more rapidly.

The Underground Railway. The growth of the abolitionist movement in the North was marked by increasing determination on the part of its adherents to undermine slavery, and for this purpose there grew up a systematic program for liberating slaves by encouraging them to escape from the southern plantations. Escaped Negroes were assisted in gaining safety and freedom in the northern states or Canada. Late in the eighteenth century, such a movement existed on a small scale; it grew in scope and organization until in the 1830's it became famous as the Underground Railway.

The organization began its operations in the southern states and systematically transported freed slaves from plantations across the Ohio River, and into Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, or into regions in the northern reaches of the Mississippi River. Despite the determined efforts on the part of southerners and some officials of the North to pursue and recapture runaway slaves, it is estimated that about 100,000 were freed and not recaptured.

The Underground Railway was financed and operated both by whites in the North and by free Negroes. Its operations were necessarily clandestine, and much of the detail concerning it is a matter of rumor and hearsay rather than recorded fact. It did serve as a constant irritant which tended to make southerners more determined in their efforts to protect and preserve the institution of slavery.

The ownership of slaves in the southern states was concentrated in the hands of about one-fourth of the population. Nine-tenths of the slaves were on rural farms and plantations, and only about one-tenth were employed in urban centers. Half the slaves were on small holdings which had five or fewer slaves attached to them, and more than 80 per cent were on plantations which had fewer than twenty slaves each. The relatively few large plantations with great numbers of slaves, however, were highly efficient production units and greatly influential in determining legislation and policy matters in the South.

The conditions of the slaves varied from plantation to plantation, but the general rule was a regime aimed at the prevention of escape and obtaining as much labor as possible from the slaves. There was some rude education of the slaves on many of the plantations, and while Christianizing them was early frowned upon by their owners, it later was encouraged as a means of keeping the Negroes obedient and docile. In the western slave states especially, the Baptist and Methodist churches, which were the chief evangelizing denominations on the frontier, converted large numbers of Negroes until eventually all were brought into the churches.

From almost the beginning of slavery in the colonies, there had been some thought and discussion of returning them to Africa among those who thought of them as unassimilable into the general population. A few efforts in this direction were actually made, the principal of which was the establishment of the colony of Liberia on the west coast of Africa, first as a private enterprise supported by philanthropic individuals and churches organized as the American Colonization Society, and later under the protection and sponsorship of the United States government. This colonization effort, begun in the 1820's and extending over several decades, was a failure from the point of view of its purpose, even though a permanent colony, and eventually a nation, were established. Only a few thousand Negroes went to Liberia where they were stricken by disease and died in large numbers, while survivors had the greatest difficulty in adjusting. It is notable that when the League of Nations conducted a world study of still existing slavery following the First World War, Liberia was one place to which it pointed as having an illegal slave traffic.

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES AND FREEDOM

With the outbreak of the War between the States, slavery presented critical problems for both the seceding southern states and the North. In the southern states the Negroes were needed more than ever for the maintenance of economic stability necessary for the support of the war; yet as the white men were taken into the southern army, it became increasingly difficult to control the slaves. There was also the ever-present fear for the safety of the people in communities and areas where slaves were numerous. In the North there was the ticklish problem of keeping the border states loyal, which meant that it was long considered inexpedient to take a firm official stand against slavery or for the release of the slaves.

Neither the southern nor the northern army would at first admit Negroes. Eventually, the Union Army, with misgivings, permitted enlistments, then encouraged southern slaves to desert their work and join. During the war about 186,000 Negroes, half of them from the seceded states, served in the Union Army. The southern army in its extremity in the closing months of the war admitted both free and slave Negroes. The response to the southern call was meager in the West, but stronger in the eastern seaboard states. Thus, at the end, Negroes were serving in the armed forces on both sides.

From the beginning of the war, and increasingly toward its end, the Negroes of the South were restive. Many escaped; others simply refused to work, especially when northern armies were near enough to give some promise of support and protection. Those who remained steadfastly loyal to their owners and plantations were the exception.

During 1862 the Federal government began cautious moves toward the freeing of the slaves, first in the District of Columbia and the northern territories where slavery was not already prohibited. On January 1, 1863, the Proclamation of Emancipation was issued by the President, officially freeing slaves in the seceded states but leaving unchanged the status of those in the border states where there were some 800,000 still in servitude. The Proclamation was received with misgivings by most of the people of the North, and it was several months before the great majority of the slaves in the South learned about it. It did serve a useful diplomatic purpose in that it was greeted with enthusiasm by the people of western Europe, making them more favorable to the northern cause.

> The most celebrated of all Lincoln's war measures was the Proclamation of Emancipation of January 1, 1863. His resolve to effect this historic stroke had matured slowly. At the outbreak of the war idealistic men and women in the North urged him to do it and continued their insistence from month to month, rolling monster petitions into the national capital to reenforce their pressure. But for various reasons Lincoln long hesitated. Weighty among them, no doubt, was the fear of losing the support of the slave states which remained in the Union, and his knowledge that the North was seriously divided over abolitionism in every form. He was aware also that a declaration of emancipation would be futile unless confirmed by victory at arms.
>
> It was not until the summer of 1862 that Lincoln decided to act. In July of that year he read to his Cabinet a proclamation of emancipation which he had written and might issue when occasion seemed to make it feasible. Encouraged by the Federal victory at the battle of Antietam in September, he announced his resolve to the world. He gave notice that unless the states in arms against the Union returned to their allegiance he would, on January 1, 1863, deliver a blow directly at slavery. When the New Year arrived, he fulfilled the promise.[2]

The Proclamation, as it became known to the Negroes of the South, and with increasing successes of the northern army, broke up the long accommodation of the Negroes in the institution of slavery. While it legally freed them, it left them, mostly, economically destitute and politically impotent. By the thousands and tens of thousands they left the plantations and wandered away, without destination or resources.

The Industrial Revolution. During the decades preceding the war changes had been coming rapidly in the northern states. The Industrial Revolution, which previously had occurred in England and other parts of Europe, had had its beginning, and with it came increasingly rapid urbanization and the relative decline of agrarian economy and life. The first railroads were being constructed and then expanded to link the North with the growing West.

---

[2] Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *A Basic History of the United States*, The Home Library, New York, 1944, pp. 275–276.

All of this was greatly speeded during the war when the demand for industrial production to prosecute the conflict, and general inflation, was felt throughout the Union.

At the same time the tide of large-scale immigration from Europe had set in, and by the time of the War between the States the immigrants, nearly all of whom settled in the North and on the western frontier, began to constitute a notably large proportion of the entire population. This was of course the Old immigration, closely linked by cultural background to the people who made up the dominant group in the United States, but still there was a growing problem of assimilating the new arrivals. Thus the end of the war found the victorious Union with many pressing problems on its hands besides those of dealing with the seceded states and the newly freed Negroes.

RECONSTRUCTION

During the war a number of agencies had been set up to deal with problems of the freed Negroes who filtered behind the Union lines and, because of their usual destitute condition, demanded immediate attention. At the close of the war these agencies and their functions were united in the Freedman's Bureau which, for years, was to be the instrument of a confused Federal policy of rehabilitation for the Negro.

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution provided for the general abolition of slavery, and it was readily endorsed even by the southern states. The freeing of the slaves, however, did not mean that all lines of distinction between Negroes and whites were removed. Most people, of both the South and the North, considered the Negro as different and inferior. In the South a dominant motive was that generated by fear of conspiracy and insurrection of the freed Negroes and as a result, the states, as they regained their self-rule, undertook to enact laws to repress and control the Negroes. The response to such measures taken by southern states was the inauguration by the North of a policy of harsh treatment for these states. The Fourteenth Amendment, extending civil rights to the Negroes of the South, failed of ratification by the southern states until its ratification was made a necessary condition of full readmission to the Federal Union and representation in the Congress.

The Freedman's Bureau, as the Federal agency for the Reconstruction of the South, had three enormous tasks to perform in an unfriendly atmosphere. It had first to meet the immediate and pressing needs not only of the destitute Negroes, but also of thousands of "displaced" whites who were in equally severe straits. This called for enormous issues of food rations, clothing, and other necessities. The second task was to resist the efforts of

The Negro "Bill of Rights"

Chronology of Documents Establishing the Legal Status of Free Negroes

DATE	DOCUMENT
January 1, 1863	Proclamation of Emancipation. Freed Negro slaves in seceded states
December 18, 1865 . .	Thirteenth Amendment ratified. Prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude in the United States and any territories under its jurisdiction
July 28, 1868	Fourteenth Amendment ratified. Forbids states from abridging civil rights of citizens
March 30, 1870 . . .	Fifteenth Amendment ratified. Prohibits states from denying the right to vote for reasons of race, color, or previous condition of servitude

the southerners to suppress the Negroes, which called for close supervision of labor contracts and, eventually, the establishment of special courts to hear disputes in which Negroes were involved. The third task had a longer range, looking to the eventual economic rehabilitation of the Negroes, and this was the one in which the Bureau most notably failed.

Efforts were made to disperse the Negro population from its chief concentrations by scattering them more widely through the less densely populated areas of the South, while thousands migrated to the North to make urban industrial adjustments. Large areas of southern land were opened to homesteading by southern whites and Negroes, a measure which gave many Negroes an opportunity for establishing themselves as independent farmers. But this measure fell far short of extravagant expectations of the Negroes that the Federal government would give every family "forty acres and a mule" with which to begin their lives anew.

As the people of the North, with their own pressing problems, began to lose zeal for the Reconstruction measures in the South and as southern state after state achieved self-rule, the Reconstruction began to break down. Organized resistance in the South was at first clandestine, since the voting power was in the hands of the Negroes, enfranchised by the Fifteenth Amendment, their southern friends, and the "carpetbaggers," new immigrants from the North. The late 1870's found numerous secret societies among the conservative southerners, bent upon "keeping the Negro in his place" and on resisting Federal authorities, by force if necessary. There were numerous violent outbreaks and frequent resort to the use of coercive force by organizations which were to become epitomized by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

During the 1880's and 1890's more open means were used, first to deprive the Negroes of their franchise by the enactment of laws governing the qualifications of voters, and later by depriving Negroes of many of their civil rights. Without an adequate plan for permanent rehabilitation, the Negroes were forced to work with their old masters in the rebuilding of southern agriculture, and eventually they found themselves under conditions of employment which differed little from those of slavery except that the new master had no responsibility toward his employees comparable to the moral and legal responsibilities of the slave owners before emancipation.

The end of the century found the new accommodation pattern in the South almost complete. The Negro had effectively lost his franchise as well as the earlier protection of the North. With millions of southern whites he was in a deplorable economic situation which, in many respects, was little better, sometimes even worse, than had been slavery. Civil rights of Negroes were submerged under an etiquette which effectually set the Negroes aside as virtually a subordinate caste.

The Negroes had declined as a proportion of the general population, from about one-fifth in 1800 to about one-tenth in 1900. They had become more widely dispersed but were still concentrated largely in the Southeast. A considerable proportion had moved into urban centers in both the North and the South and had made adjustments in industry, usually at the lowest level as unskilled workers, but occasionally in the semiskilled or skilled occupations. The "Negro problem" nationally had become lost in the growing problem of assimilation presented by the vast New immigration from Europe which had grown rapidly since 1880, and by 1900 was in full tide.

Probably the most lasting positive effect of the old Freedman's Bureau was the beginning it had made toward Negro education. At times acting independently, at others in cooperation with various philanthropic organizations, it had established schools for the Negroes and had made a start both in their general education to prepare them for the citizenship which was, in effect, denied them, and in a variety of vocations.

Another significant legacy of the Reconstruction was the rise of a large number of independent Negro churches, especially in the South. Previous to emancipation the Negroes had worshipped with whites or in churches under close supervison of white churches, while Negroes generally were forbidden to preach. With reconstruction the latter prohibition was removed, and throughout the South there arose Negro churches which became an important educational and social force among the Negroes.

THE NEW ACCOMMODATION

The new accommodation of the Negroes, whether considered nationally or in the South, was an uneasy one from the start, and it began to change almost as soon as the pattern had set. It lasted in the main, without major interruption, until the depression of the early 1930's, but there were frequent challenges to it both from the Negroes themselves and from people throughout the country who saw clearly the dilemma between the political idealism expressed in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments and the actual practices which were a part of the new accommodation.

The new accommodation might be described as having three aspects: the "color line," segregation, and discrimination. As applied to amalgamation between the races, there was general agreement throughout the country that intermarriage, and thus complete assimilation, were not desirable and to be strongly resisted. Closely coupled with this was the vaguer prohibition of "social equality" and "social intimacy" between Negroes and whites; and, especially in the South, a double standard of morality which permitted a degree of discreet sexual indulgence by white males across the color line, but rigidly forbade intimacy of white females with Negroes.

Segregation took many forms and was much more rigid in the South than in the North but was widely practiced in many northern cities in one form or another. In the South it included separate schools and churches as well as separate residential districts for Negroes. It also included the provision of separate sections in public conveyances and public amusement places for Negroes, or "Jim Crowism."

Discrimination was practiced in every phase of community life. The Negroes were limited occupationally and confined, usually, to the marginal occupational levels. In their segregated schools they received education generally inferior to that of whites of the same communities. They received differential treatment from community agencies, often of a grade which contrasted obviously with the better treatment of whites.

The pattern of accommodation was reinforced by whites by occasional resort to violence and more frequent threats of violence. There was frequent lynching of Negroes in the South, and there were occasional riots in the northern and border states.

First World War. The existing interracial accommodation, already an uneasy one, was strained further by the First World War. There were large numbers of Negroes in the armed forces, either as volunteers or as draftees, and their presence and treatment tended to emphasize the discriminations which had become generally accepted. They again appeared as a part of the dilemma of a nation which was embarked upon an idealistic crusade against tyranny and for the rights of all mankind. Further, in service overseas, thousands of Negroes saw other and contrasting patterns of accommodation, especially in France and England, where discriminations were less pronounced and often seemed to be lacking altogether.

The war called for a greatly increased industrial output, and at the same time the labor supply from European immigration had fallen off sharply. Northern industrialists found a needed supply of labor in the South, and a great migration of rural Negroes from the South to industrial centers of the North was begun—a migratory movement which was to continue and increase as years went by. Because of the tight labor situation, the range of occupations open to Negroes was greatly expanded, and they could not only engage in more kinds of work but also work at higher levels in skilled employments.

All these changes tended to bring the American Negroes generally to a higher level in the socioeconomic structure, to make them more insistent upon their rights as loyal citizens, and to shift the problem of the Negroes increasingly from its southern confines to the nation at large, especially to northeastern industrial centers. Harlem became the largest Negro city in the world, and the Black Belt of Chicago became a metropolis within a metropolis. Other industrial centers, to a lesser degree, experienced the same kind of change with the numerous problems that were presented.

The prosperity of the 1920's tended somewhat to obscure the new problems growing out of the strained accommodation of the Negroes. Following the First World War they had retained some of their wartime gains and lost others. One heritage from the war had been the extensive organization of Negroes and their white supporters for the protection of their civil rights and in an effort to hold the gains that had been made.

Depression and After. The mounting problems came to a head with the depression years of the early 1930's. Unemployment among Negroes, especially in urban centers, had been growing and spreading before the depression, and when the decline of industrial activity became precipitate, it became obvious that the Negroes in industry were marginal workers, the first to be "laid off" as the demand for labor declined. They constituted a disproportionately large part of the relief load of the early relief agencies and continued to be the most distressed large group in the population. In the

South, the pattern of discrimination carried over to the handling of relief employment and funds.

Out of the depression years, however, there were several important developments which were greatly to affect Negro adjustments in the country. One was the discovery that Negroes had come to make up important blocks of voting power in some northern cities, sufficient to serve as a balance of power in close elections. This led to a new political attitude toward the Negroes in cities, and to their rapid elevation to places of influence in local and, to a lesser extent, in national politics.

A second important development was the rise to power of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, to challenge the supremacy of the old craft-union American Federation of Labor. From the beginning the CIO was liberal in its attitude toward Negro workers, while the AFL had left the Negro problem to local unions with the result that the general discriminatory pattern had been widespread in labor unions. As the competition for membership between the rival labor organizations became intensified, both sides began to recruit and organize Negroes.

Meanwhile the distressed Negroes in northern cities remained where they were and the influx from the South, somewhat retarded, nevertheless continued. Both the dispersion and the urbanization of Negroes went on. Their proportion in the general population, which had been declining, became stabilized as European immigration ended as a large-scale movement.

Second World War. Trends in the direction of a new and, from the Negro viewpoint, more favorable accommodation were clear as the entry into the Second World War became imminent. The prewar expansion of the armed forces and industry again drew largely upon Negroes, with greater assurance than in the First World War that they would receive better treatment both in the armed forces and in industrial employment.

With actual entry into the war, Negro soldiers, sailors, and marines were participating in the desperate battles, first in the Pacific, then in Africa and Europe. As the war progressed, there were significant changes of the status of Negroes in the various services. Davie has summarized them: [3]

> The backbone of segregation in the army has been separation by unit. Although this practice remained unchanged during the war, Dollard and Young point out that certain breaks occurred in the general pattern which augur well for the eventual integration of the Negro in the army. "Of these the official order banning segregation in theaters, post exchanges, and buses operating within army establishments was the most publicized and perhaps least impor-

---

[3] Maurice R. Davie, *Negroes in American Society,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949, pp. 319–320.

tant." Less publicized, but of greater symbolic importance were two other departures from traditional practice. The first was the abandonment of segregation in all officers' candidate schools except those for the Air Force flying personnel. Whites and Negroes slept, ate, and trained together with a minimum of friction and with very few complaints. It was a conclusive demonstration that, at least at the level of officer training, integration could be accomplished without loss of military efficiency. The second break in the pattern of segregation resulted from an experiment in the European Theater of Operations in 1945, sanctioned by Lieutenant General John C. H. Lee, in which Negro infantry platoons served in white companies. Negro enlisted men in service units were permitted to volunteer for duty as infantrymen, with the understanding that after the necessary training they would be committed to front-line duty with white companies. About 2,500 Negroes took advantage of the opportunity and eventually saw combat duty. This was the first time in the recent history of the Army that Negroes and whites operated as members of a single company. A study made by the Army Research Branch at ETO headquarters in May–June, 1945, disclosed that the opinions of the white company grade officers and platoon sergeants changed from being predominantly unfavorable to the idea beforehand to being predominantly favorable as a result of the experience; and over 80 per cent of them responded that the colored soldiers performed well in combat.

Throughout the war, huge war industries were built in the West, and cities which grew around them discovered that almost overnight they had "Negro problems" of considerable magnitude for the first time. Demands for labor and manpower shortages were critical everywhere, and Negroes were welcomed into almost every kind of employment. The new dispersion of Negroes westward greatly changed the general national picture.

Negroes did not participate in the settlement of the West. Most of the Negro migration to the West has occurred in the past fifteen years, a large part of it during the last years of World War II. The reasons why Negroes did not go west until recent years are not clear. The primary explanation seems to be that in rural areas of the West white settlers in the early days after the Civil War decided that there were not to be any Negroes. The same seems to hold true in most rural areas of the Northeast and in most small towns of the entire North. But the Negroes also came to regard it as difficult to migrate to the West, and there was little by way of established Negro communities to aid any newcomers. At any rate, it soon became a popular belief among Southern Negroes that the only outlet from the South was to the cities and preferably to the big cities, where Negro neighborhoods were already established. But there were cities in the West and a few of these grew rapidly. It is surprising that cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle did not attract a greater Negro population.

The South also had its western frontier, Oklahoma and western Texas. Negroes did not move into these areas, however, in any great numbers. Southern prejudice against the Negro seems to have been the most potent factor in keeping the Negro out of new employment opportunities (oil and gas wells) in Texas and Oklahoma. In some towns, Negroes were not permitted to remain over twenty-four hours; everywhere the Negro is "kept in his place." [4]

The United States was again engaged in an idealistic crusade in which it fought against all kinds of oppression and discrimination abroad and, more specifically than ever before, against racial persecution as exemplified by the treatment of Jews in Nazi Germany. It was inevitable that the country should become acutely aware of the continued discriminations against the Negroes and other ethnic groups at home.

The end of the war found the United States in a position of almost unchallenged leadership in the world, but with the necessity of consolidating that position under the rising threat from communist Russia. The mistreatment of Negroes in the United States became a seemingly potent propaganda weapon in the hands of actual and potential enemies as well as of the growing communist organization in the United States.

At war's end, amid a confusion of trends, it was clear that the position of the American Negro was stronger than it had ever been, both morally and in fact. The Negroes were more dispersed over the country, and the "Negro problem" was more than ever a national one. Moral commitments to the Negroes had been renewed, and the Negroes themselves were well organized and insistent. There had been developing unnoticed an educated and devoted Negro leadership, well able to use the courts and other agencies to promote the interests of Negroes generally. The lines of segregation and discrimination had begun to crumble, one after another. Southern universities were forced to admit Negro students to classrooms with whites, and Negroes appeared on southern juries. Many southern leaders, including able journalists, defended the civil rights of Negroes. Only the "color line" as it bore upon intermarriage remained generally impregnable. Both by law and by tradition the American people remained unchanged on this point.

But the vaguer area surrounding that of actual intermarriage became increasingly confused. Negroes, in many northern cities, were recognized as respected members of professions carrying high prestige, such as law and medicine. Others were becoming members of university faculties in growing numbers. Negroes were dating white girls on university campuses, and among the sophisticated throughout the North and West Negroes were being admitted more freely to social circles.

But the old pattern, of course, persisted among some groups and in most areas of the South. The spread of southern Negroes to other parts of the

---

[4] Arnold Rose, *The Negro in America*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948, 2d printing, pp. 63–64.

*Negro Population by States **

STATE	NUMBER OF NEGROES	STATE	NUMBER OF NEGROES
Georgia	1,084,927	South Carolina	814,164
Mississippi	1,074,578	Virginia	661,449
Alabama	983,290	New York	571,221
North Carolina	981,298	Florida	514,198
Texas	924,391	Tennessee	508,736
Louisiana	849,303		

* Only states with more than 500,000 Negroes are listed.

SOURCE: U.S. Census, 1940.

country had been paralleled by the spread of southern whites and with them the pattern of thought and action toward Negroes which had been customary in the South. But the "full employment" and general prosperity of the postwar years did much to ameliorate competition between the races and thus to conceal conflicts still remaining from the centuries old American dilemma.

SUMMARY

There were Negroes in the territory that is now the United States before the beginning of slavery in the country, but the "Negro problem" is a heritage of the slave trade. This trade started soon after the first colonies were established on the Atlantic Coast and grew consistently until the time of the American Revolution, when the "American dilemma" was first clearly realized by many leaders as the basic conflict between the political idealism of Americans and the economic imperatives of the southern states.

Slavery did not flourish in the northern states, and there developed in that area a strong opposition to the growing institution in the South, where, after a brief pause, the slave trade set in again more actively than ever. As the nation expanded, the conflict between the opponents of slavery in the North and the supporters of slavery in the South was intensified until, with other issues, it culminated in the War between the States. The war won legal freedom for the slaves, but the postwar problems of the Reconstruction were so many and varied that the reconstruction program which envisioned equality for the Negroes broke down. And there was a near return to slavery conditions in the South by the beginning of the twentieth century.

The new interracial accommodation was an uneasy one from the start and was a constantly changing one, but in the main it persisted until the depression of the early 1930's. The First World War had done much to improve the status of the Negroes, especially by enlarging the range of occupations open to them. It also made the Americans again fully conscious of the dilemma presented by the contrast between their political idealism and their practices of discrimination against ethnic groups, and especially the more than 10 million Negroes in the population.

Beginning with the First World War, the Negroes began large-scale migrations from the South to northern urban and industrial centers, a movement which still continues. The Second World War, to an even greater extent than the First World War, brought about significant changes in the status of the Negroes, and greater dispersion of the "Negro problem" to include not only the urban North, but the West as well.

The Negro problem persists, but its conflict phases have been largely concealed since the Second World War by "full employment" and continued prosperity which have tended to ameliorate economic competition among ethnic and racial groups in the United States.

The Negro population of the United States has grown consistently and rapidly throughout our national history, but until recent decades that growth was less rapid than for the population of the country as a whole. In recent decades there has been a rapid decline of death rate among the Negroes, and as the Negroes have moved increasingly to urban centers, there has been a sharp drop in their high birth rates, so that their population trends are becoming much like those of the American whites. It is probable that the present proportions, with Negroes constituting roughly one-tenth of the population, will not change greatly in the foreseeable future.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What have been the historical trends in the proportion of Negroes in the population of the United States?
2. What have been the accompanying trends in the distribution of the Negroes by regions? As to urban and rural regions?
3. How, generally, has participation in war affected the status of the Negroes at various historical times?
4. What is meant by the "American dilemma"?
5. What complexities entered into efforts to solve the Negro problem during Reconstruction?
6. How did the depression of the 1930's affect the Negroes of the country?
7. What, generally, has been the relation of the Negro to organized labor movements of the country?
8. How has the history of the Negro been related to the history of European immigration?

9. What are some examples of recent breakdown of former discriminations against the Negro?

10. Why did the Negro long hesitate to migrate to the West?

SUGGESTED READINGS

BOTEMPS, ARNA, *Story of the Negro,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1948.

BOTKIN, B. A., *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1945.

CARROLL, JOSEPH C., *Slave Insurrections in the United States,* 1800–1860, Chapman & Grimes, Inc., Boston, 1938.

CUTLER, JAMES, *Lynch Law: An Investigation into the History of Lynching in the United States,* Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., New York, 1905.

DAVIE, MAURICE R., *Negroes in American Society,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949.

DUBOIS, W. E. B., *Black Folk Then and Now,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1939.

EMBREE, E. R., *Brown America: The Story of a Tenth of the Nation,* The Viking Press, Inc., New York, 1943.

FRANKLIN, JOHN HOPE, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1947.

HERSKOVITS, M. J., *The Myth of the Negro Past,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1941.

KORNGOLD, RALPH, *Citizen Toussaint,* Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1945.

OTTLEY, ROI, *Black Odyssey: The Story of the Negro in America,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1948.

ROSE, ARNOLD, *The Negro in America,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948, 2d printing.

CHAPTER 16

THE AMERICAN NEGROES TODAY

SEVERAL THINGS distinguish the Negroes from other ethnic and racial groups in the United States and have brought them into a clearer focus of attention from scholars and reformers than any other comparable segment of our people has commanded. First, the Negroes as a race have the highest "social visibility" of any of the racial groups. Second, numerically, making up nearly one-tenth of the total population, they are the largest of distinctive ethnic groups. Third, their present situation is largely the outgrowth of a long history of institutionalized slavery. The "Negro problem" is basically one of racial adjustment in a rapidly changing set of circumstances, but it is also interlaced with traditional and cultural elements which make it as necessary to understand the dominant culture complexes of the whites as to understand the Negroes themselves.

RACIAL ASPECTS

By both common-sense and scientific criteria, the Negroes are racially distinct from other population elements in the United States. The American Negroes are almost entirely descended from the forest Negroes of western equatorial Africa, a relatively homogeneous stock; in many ways their homogeneity was probably enhanced by the processes involved in the slave trade, in which the strongest and largest Negroes were most apt to be selected, by the natural selection which operated during the transport of the Negroes to America, and by their arduous training upon their arrival.

Yet, among the American Negroes today there is considerable variation in all physiological traits, including pigmentation of skin, stature, and other characteristics. A part of this variation is due, undoubtedly, to admixture in differing degree of white blood in the Negro group. While no one can know with any great certainty, it is probable from what is known that most Negroes in the United States have some "white" blood, and it is also beyond doubt that a considerable number of people who are considered white have some Negro blood. In this connection it must be remembered that what are called white people include a great range of mixture of stocks with a wide difference in many physiological characteristics. Negroes have mixed, locally, with other stocks, including Indians and Mexican mestizos. Physiologically there appears to be no hindrance to such interracial mixture, even though it comes under strong taboos, especially where whites are concerned.

The centuries through which whites and Negroes in this country have lived side by side, and often under conditions of close spatial intimacy, have made inevitable the crossing of the "color line" to a considerable extent. Conditions which were most conducive to illicit intermixture existed mainly in the South where, as previously noted, the pattern of mores has made allowance for this by permitting physiological intimacy between white males and Negro women under certain conditions of discretion. This has meant that in all probability the admixture has been mainly infusion of white blood into the Negro stock rather than otherwise.

Racial Myths. There have grown up in America a number of racial myths concerning the Negro which are widely accepted even though they have little factual basis or even run counter to obvious facts. It is these myths which have been both determinants of and rationalizations for the patterns of interracial relationships which have developed and persisted throughout most of American history. Davie comments: [1]

> The belief is held that the physical traits of the Negro are more primitive than the white man's. His heavy protruding jaw, his broad nose, long arms, and long head are said to be apelike. On that basis the white man is more simian, with his thin lips, straight hair, large bony ridge over the eyes, and in size and shape of the external ear. Such discussion merely introduces the emotional factor which takes it for granted that certain virtues inhere in physical traits, that some are high, and others low. There are scores of physical types. Some have marked features in one direction, some in another. . . .
>
> This statement also applies to the matter of brain weight and structure. In brain weight the average of whites would slightly exceed the average of Negroes, but among the Negroes many will be found exceeding the white average. The two groups overlap; no sharp line can be drawn. Brain weights vary enormously. Usually large individuals have large brains. Men are larger than women and have larger brains. Large brains have no more units than small brains; the units are simply larger. There is no evidence that the size of brain is necessarily connected with actual or potential intelligence, either in the individual or the race. Nor has any difference been found in brain structure or in convolutions that can be interpreted in psychological terms. Moreover, contrary to racialist doctrine, the cranial sutures do not close earlier in the Negro than in the white.

[1] Maurice R. Davie, *Negroes in American Society,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949, p. 370.

Few Americans know or seek the scientific facts or findings concerning race, and most share in certain common beliefs uncritically. The most basic of these are summarized by Rose, following Myrdal: [2]

> (1) The Negro people belong to a separate race of mankind.
>
> (2) The Negro race has an entirely different ancestry.
>
> (3) The Negro race is inferior in as many capacities as possible.
>
> (4) The Negro race has a place in biology somewhere between the white man and the anthropoid apes.
>
> (5) The Negro race is so different both in ancestry and characteristics that all white peoples in America, in distinction to the Negroes, can be considered as one race.
>
> (6) The individuals in the Negro race are very similar to one another and all of them are definitely more akin to one another than to any white man.
>
> The major observation is that the six points stated above not only represent the ordinary white American's theory on the Negro race, but also that this theory is *needed* to rationalize the American caste situation.
>
> Such beliefs are stronger in the South than elsewhere. The strength of such beliefs decreases as education increases. The white upper-class person, since his social distance from the Negro is so great and so secure, will often be willing to recognize individual Negroes as exceptions and more likely to classify poor whites as an inferior stock and sometimes "just as bad as" the average Negro. The lower classes of whites seem to be much more careful to keep the race dogma straight on both these points.

From these comments it is clear that not only are racial and cultural factors interwoven, but also that the social stratification of the country and of various communities is both causative and a result of racial beliefs which are current and strong.

Many specific applications of myths about the Negroes that enter importantly into adjustment problems could be cited. In the study of delinquency and crime one finds that there is a tendency to think of inherent racial differences in inclinations toward criminality, often shared by enforcement officers and even by some judges in courts. Most present students of criminology are agreed that there is no evidence to support, in a scientific sense, such beliefs. Such differences as exist in behavioral characteristics of Negroes and non-Negroes usually can be explained adequately in terms of obvious cultural differentials and other factors, such as relative restrictions on opportunity for normal participation in a white-dominated society.

---

[2] Arnold Rose, *The Negro in America,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948, 2d printing, p. 37.

In the military services there have been persistent myths about Negroes, usually to the effect that they make relatively poor fighting men, and that Negroes and whites cannot get along together in military units. Careful experiments in the two World Wars, especially in the Second, have demonstrated that neither is necessarily a true notion. Negroes have now fought in white combat units in varying types of relationships and have gained the approval of their commanders and white comrades in arms for their performance; and those whites who have been associated with Negroes in the same military units have usually come to see that they can get along together if conditions are favorable for doing so.

Interracial Adjustments. The principal purely racial problem stems largely from general beliefs about Negroes and from concern over the possible increase in the proportion of Negroes in the whole population of the country, and even of their eventual numerical domination. A part of this concern arises from the characteristically high birth rate of Negroes, and a part from fear of the dilution of the white element by infusions of Negro blood. Out of these concerns has come a general agreement on prohibitions of intermarriage of whites and Negroes, enacted into law in thirty states, in others simply so deeply embedded in the mores that the effect is even greater than is that of law. Neither white nor Negro leaders have dared to advocate openly an amalgamation of the two races.

Fears arising from the high Negro birth rate have been somewhat dispelled by observations of recent years which have shown that generally the Negroes' birth rate is declining even though it tends to remain higher than that of whites; and that as Negroes become urbanized, their birth rate rapidly falls to that of the urban whites. This would indicate that there is little danger of the Negro population growing much beyond its present proportion of the population of the United States at any foreseeable time.

The social prohibitions of intermarriage are so strong and penalties so severe that there is little likelihood of a major breach in this regard within the near future, even though there have been some evidences in recent years that beginnings of tolerance in even this regard are appearing in some groups, especially in the North. A subtler problem lies in the "passing" of Negroes of light skin and without marked Negro racial characteristics into white groups. Such passing is at times deliberate on the part of persons who, because of ancestry, would ordinarily be classed as Negroes, and apparently takes place in some instances without the knowledge of the person who is "passing." Negro parents who are themselves light in skin pigmentation may bring up their children in the belief they are white, or the Negro paternity of a child may be concealed from him. In fact, few people have very precise knowledge about their own ancestry beyond two generations. The extent of Negro passing is unknown and unknowable and has been a matter of considerable controversy. Some, who claim to have made careful studies, insist that it is a relatively large movement; others tend to minimize it. The truth probably lies somewhere between the extremes.

CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT

The American Negroes have no homeland in any significant sense, except America; and they have no native Negro culture in the sense that some reservation Indians and various recent immigrants have native cultures. Yet, they are culturally distinguishable from most of the population, this being especially true of the southern rural Negroes. The American Negroes have the same language, the same religions, the same general social heritage as the dominant culture group, but the Negroes' is a warped replica since their cultural participation has been limited and channelized quite differently from that of the whites.

> In the cultural conflict which proceeded in the New World following the introduction of the Negroes, the acculturative process varied in different places and under different circumstances. In some places it was all but stymied where there was sufficient consensus of experience among the Africans to take Western culture and reinterpret it almost wholly in terms of their own experiences. In other places, such as Brazil and some Caribbean islands, successful revolts made possible the transplantation of an African way of life to a considerable degree. Elsewhere, one can observe the process going on in a normal and gradual way, but with at least some survival of African culture an obvious fact. When it comes to measuring or evaluating the persistence of African culture in the New World, the problem becomes much more difficult. In the language one can see it in such words as yam, goober, canoe, and banjo. In literature one can observe it in the folk tales that have been preserved in recent years by American writers. In religion there are the divinations and various cult practices, some of which can be traced to the African background. In work, in play, in social organization and aesthetic manifestations there are evidences of Africanisms.[3]

A somewhat clearer picture of the situation is given by another author: [4]

> First of all there is a wall of social distance separating Negro and white culture; this wall, like some permeable membranes, permits some circulation in one direction, from blacks to whites. Negroes work as domestics and laborers in white areas of the city and are more or less familiar with the activities

---

[3] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom; A History of American Negroes*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1947, p. 40.

[4] R. A. Schermerhorn, *These Our People*, reprinted by special permission of D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, Mass., 1949, pp. 83–84.

> and institutions of white society. But the membrane is impermeable from the other direction, for nearly all white people remain within the confines of their own community, where the Negro is a visitor and a worker rather than an inhabitant. The two cultures remain separate and parallel with the Negro culture developing in a segregated area under white influence, which is occasional and sporadic, an influence which must be adjusted to the interests and values of an all-Negro society operating under restrictive patterns. Thus even though the forms of white society are often adopted by the Negro minority, the meaning will be altered so as to keep their congruence with Negro customs and folkways. . . .

The distinctions which mark Negro culture in the United States do not stand alone, nor are they the outstanding example, because between and among socioeconomic levels, occupational groups, urban and rural communities and various regions of the country there are customary differentials, in some cases more obvious and significant than those between Negroes and whites. It is to be noted in this connection that many of the culture complexes and traits of the Negroes of the South are more like those of the southern whites than they are like those of Negroes of long residence in Harlem or Chicago. Other customs of the lower level Negroes are more like those of southern "poor whites" than they are like those of wealthier Negroes of higher status in the South.

It thus becomes difficult to draw comparisons or contrasts or to point out definite areas of cultural conflict and adjustment problems as between the racial groups. It is well to note, however, that the stereotype of the American Negroes, as distinct from the reality, tends to ascribe to Negroes uniformity of culture traits which presumably, in all times and places, distinguish Negroes from whites. In this stereotype the Negroes are all happy-go-lucky, irresponsible, and clownish; and it is often expedient for Negroes in their contacts with whites to smooth the interracial relationships by conforming to the stereotype in their behavior and mannerisms. This of course tends to strengthen and perpetuate the stereotype.

An important aspect of the cultural situation as it impinges upon the Negroes is the effect of constant and continuous frustration upon the Negro personality. This effect has been frequently observed and described both by Negroes and by sympathetic whites. It comes as Negroes learn that many avenues open to others are closed to them, and that most kinds of achievement are made more difficult for them because of their race. Undoubtedly such frustration increases the cultural differential by lowering the incentive of Negroes and diverting their attention and activities from what, in the dominant society, are considered normal channels. In so doing, it tends to give to Negro behavior the appearance of abnormality when viewed from the standpoint of whites.

The Negro Family. The Negro family reflects to some extent the heritage from slavery under which what would be considered normal family life by the dominant group was usually discouraged. Stable marriage and family units were a disadvantage where slaves were concerned; at the same time sexual irregularity, as long as it did not interfere with the work of the slaves, could be viewed by the masters with tolerance. Women slaves were more often in close contact with the white household and lived in greater intimacy with whites, which was reflected in higher status for them in the eyes of their owners. The rural Negro family remains mainly a matriarchal family, and ties between parents are loose and often transitory. Common-law marriage is frequent, and rates of illegitimacy and desertion are high, although there is relatively little divorce. Usually, in the rural South, the family unit is large, including many children, and the mother and older children are gainfully employed, usually on a seasonal basis, while little reliance is placed upon the husband and father.

With the cityward migration of Negroes, family life has undergone considerable change, with the size of family and number of children smaller, especially among the migrants. The rate of desertion remains high, however, and illegitimacy is frequent. As urban Negroes move up the socio-economic scale, there is a tendency for the family to become a more stable unit and to resemble more closely the prevailing family pattern of the whites, in almost every aspect.

> The relatively harmless character of illegitimacy in rural communities becomes lost as these simple peasant folk move to cities. Divorced from the folkways of rural life, it becomes part of the general disorganization of the family, especially in the midst of the poverty and maladjustment of city slums. In urban areas where property rights, inheritance, economic security, child-labor laws, compulsory education, and the like are more important factors than in rural areas, illegitimacy has a more disorganizing effect on the family and the social life of the group. Most of the problems of illegitimacy among Negroes in cities concern these recent migrants. In the course of migration to the city, family ties become broken, and restraints upon sex conduct lose their force. Especially is this true in the poorer sections of the Negro communities located in the slum areas of our cities.
>
> Though sexual promiscuity is still common in the lower classes, the trend has definitely been toward greater regulation. A marked change has occurred in sex mores since slavery. Irregular sex behavior is not regarded by Negro youth today with the complacency typical of older generations. As the Negro advances economically and educationally, as he becomes adjusted to the city

environment, and as higher social classes emerge, sex standards become stricter and family organization more stable.[5]

The Community. The Negro community is characteristically a segregated one in which the people carry on their own community life within the restrictions imposed by the dominant culture through laws and custom. This is true in both the rural and the urban setting, although in large urban centers there is a tendency for the more prosperous Negroes to get away from segregated communities and to become somewhat dispersed in the residential areas where they are permitted. In every metropolis of the country there is a Negro city within the larger city, largely self-sufficient, with its own business houses, banks, and professional services supplied by Negroes.

Almost uniformly, the housing and living conditions in the Negro communities are much inferior to those of most whites in the same town or city. Negroes have largely taken over the areas in transition and slums previously occupied by newly arrived immigrants in many northern cities, and present much the same problems of high incidence of disease, delinquency, and other pathological conditions which have been associated historically with such areas in urban communities. Friction arises as the urban Negro population grows by rapid influx of Negroes from rural areas, since this growth is usually within the confines of rigid segregation in which the boundaries ascribed to the Negro communities are inflexible. Thus the growing Negro population makes for more and more overcrowding until the Negroes are forced to flow over boundaries into white areas, a tendency which is strongly resisted by the whites, often to the point of overt violence.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

While there is not entire agreement, there is an impressive consensus among social scientists that the Negroes in this country constitute a caste within an otherwise open-class scheme. As one author has written: [6]

> In one segment of its social organization, however, the United States does have a rather full embodiment of the caste principle. In the South, as everyone knows, Negroes and whites constitute two castes set apart. Nearly all the features of Indian caste are perceptible in the relations of these two groups. Outstanding among these is the ideology of pollution. In both India and America this magical concept serves to justify the caste structure. It is somehow contaminating to sit beside a Negro, to touch his hand, or to drink from the same

---

[5] Davie, *op. cit.,* p. 211.

[6] Kingsley Davis, *Human Society,* copyright 1949 by The Macmillan Company, New York, pp. 385–386. Used with permission of the publisher.

> cup. Children are told at five- and ten-cent stores not to blow the whistles and horns because some Negro may have put his mouth to the same instrument. Toilet, eating, hotel, and nearly all public facilities must be separate for the two groups.
>
> The fundamental rule is that Negroes and whites shall never associate in any relation of intimacy that implies equality. Consequently most of the restrictions imposed on the untouchables in India . . . can be roughly matched with reference to the Negroes in the southern part of the United States. One of the most fundamental of these restrictions is of course the ban on intermarriage. This ban indicates (in the United States) that the racial integrity of the upper caste is to be strictly maintained to the degree that all persons of mixed racial qualities shall be placed unequivocally in the lower of the two castes. To permit intermarriage would be to give the hybrid offspring the legal status of its father and would soon undermine the racial basis of the caste order. Hence either intermarriage must be strictly forbidden or racial caste abandoned. Thirty states forbid intermarriage and thus align themselves on the side of racial castes.

The caste system which is found in its extreme form in the South, to some extent is the pattern from Negro-white relations throughout the country, but it is a somewhat more flexible system outside the South where numerous breaches may be observed in the caste line. It is notable that Negro individuals who have most nearly escaped caste restrictions have been professional prize fighters, a few baseball and football players, and certain entertainers such as band leaders. Such avenues to fame and fortune do not appear to violate the general notion of the Negro remaining in "his place."

Southern people, generally, while they carry the pollution notion regarding the Negroes, are sentimentally fond of Negroes who obviously know and remain in their place in the southern scheme of things. Many southerners have fond recollections of Negro "mammies" who may have nursed them at the breast, and many southern folk songs have as their theme a nostalgic affection for Negroes.

Negro Class System. Within the Negro caste there is a class system which is closely patterned after that of the whites and which operates as an open-class system. The criteria by which class is ascribed to Negroes by other Negroes include professional and occupational standing, wealth and income, and educational attainment. As in the case of the American society in general, the rural class scheme is simple with differences sharply defined, while the urban scheme among Negroes, as among others, is complex and gradations are overlapping and fluid. To some extent skin pigmentation enters in as a determinant in the Negro class system, with those of light skin and less pronounced racial characteristics—that is, as nearly white in physical appearance as possible—enjoying higher status, other things being equal. Especially are light skin and resemblance to whites of importance to urban Negro girls and women in determining their eligibility for entrance into higher classes.

Students of the Negroes have found that those of the upper classes look down on lower class Negroes and tend to share the prejudices of whites against the Negroes in lower classes, even to the extent of having derogatory stereotypes of them. Among Negroes the highest esteem goes to those of their race who gain favorable recognition from whites.

Occupations. The restrictions on occupations open to Negroes vary greatly from region to region and from community to community. In some places, especially in the South, the range of occupational opportunity is narrow. In the national scheme there are certain occupational monopolies, such as that of Pullman car porters, which have traditionally been allotted to Negroes. Since the Second World War, the industrial occupational range has been greatly enlarged, but as a general rule Negroes are not permitted in occupational levels where they would have authority over white workers. In a few communities Negroes are permitted freely to enter and practice such professions as medicine and law, even serving white clients and patients, but this is still exceptional. Within Negro communities, such as the Black Belt of Chicago and Harlem in New York, of course Negroes are active in all types of business enterprises and professions. Politically, Negroes have token representation on public boards and commissions in many northern cities and in a few southern ones; in some instances where the Negro vote constitutes a balance of power, actual or potential, Negro political bosses are influential in determining general policies.

Poverty. As in the case of most ethnic and racial adjustments, poverty is a complicating factor in connection with Negroes, both urban and rural, in the United States. The poverty often is both cause and result of discriminatory practices, and thus there is a vicious circle from which it is almost impossible for the great majority of Negroes to escape. With poor education and training, with arbitrary limitations upon occupational fields, the Negroes are usually at or near the bottom of the income scale, a fact which aggravates the very conditions which have placed them there.

There is a general tendency, especially in recent decades, for the Negroes to rise in the economic scale, but they are still living at a much lower level than that general among whites. It must be noted, however, that wherever Negroes are found in considerable numbers, whether as sharecroppers in the South or as laborers and domestics in northern cities, they live in close proximity to and contact with considerable numbers of whites who are at the same economic level. Just as there are hundreds of thousands of distressingly poor rural Negroes in the South, there are equal numbers of poor whites. And just as there are overcrowded and poverty-ridden Negro slum areas in cities, they usually are adjoined by similar slums occupied by whites.

This economic fact tends to bring the Negroes culturally into closest contact with the economically poorest whites, at the lowest level of educational attainment and representing cultural differentials from the more well-to-do whites quite similar to the differentials which set the Negro apart.

CHANGING RELATIONSHIPS

Study of the racial and cultural relationships and of social stratification, where the Negroes of the United States are involved, must recognize that present conditions are in a state of change and that the dynamic aspects of them are as important as are the static. Such a concept as that of caste implies fixity and rigidity, but the caste system in which the Negroes are involved is not immune to the changes which are taking place. As one writer recently said: [7]

> The studies of the "class and caste" school have rendered a service of focusing attention upon the structural aspects of race relations. But the caste concept of race relations has been utilized in studies as a static concept. Consequently, while failing to provide any new insights into the attitudes and behavior of whites and Negroes, these studies have ignored the dynamic aspects of race relations, especially under the changing conditions of urban living.

The changes which are affecting the American Negroes are of two kinds: those which arise from forces and trends to which the specific changes are incidental, although in many cases such changes are highly significant; and those which are results of deliberated and organized programs both among Negroes and among whites who are concerned with the "American dilemma."

Among the former are basic population changes in the United States. These include the general slowing up of the rate of growth of the American population with an approach to quantitative stability. This is accompanied by parallel, although retarded, trends in the birth and death rates of Negroes which tend to make their population behavior more like that of the general population. This is especially notable in connection with the rapid urbanization of the Negro with its pronounced effects upon population behavior. Closely linked with such changes are large migratory movements, especially of Negroes, incidental to two World Wars and to the virtual stoppage of large-scale immigration from Europe. There is a rapid dispersion of Negroes from the rural South, their traditional place of large concentration, and with it a renewed interest in the "Negro problem" on a national scale. With this dispersion has come a new local political importance for the Negroes in many of the communities outside the South.

---

[7] E. Franklin Frazier, "Race Contacts and the Social Structure," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 14, 1949, p. 3.

Also among the trends affecting the Negroes have been those in organized labor generally, resulting in keen competition for large membership between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations which has not only opened the ranks to Negro workers but has also brought about large-scale efforts to bring them into the ranks. Closely related has been a shift of American organized labor from its previous position of shunning partisan politics to one of active political participation. Both of these have tended to give the Negro higher status, a nearer approach to equality, and a voice in national affairs which he otherwise would not have in the same degree.

> No less important than the events outlined above are the recent ideological and institutional changes in the United States which have modified the degree of economic and social security realized and contemplated in our society. The existence of high levels of employment for almost a decade has had a profound effect upon the labor market and upon the reaction of employers and labor to Negro workers serving not only to reduce competition for jobs between white and black labor but also reducing the threat of Negro labor to the standards of white labor. This has taken place in an economy where over three-quarters of the working people in the nation are employees, most of whom expect to remain on the payroll of someone else. As a consequence, 40 per cent of the non-supervisory and non-technical workers in private industry are organized into trade unions. The latter are not only increasing in economic power but are also becoming a major political force in the nation. These and associated events have led an outstanding economist to assert that ours is becoming a laboristic economy in which employees are the most influential group in the community and where the economy is run in their interest more than in the interest of any other economic group.
>
> Increasingly the Negro is cooperating with organized labor on both the economic and political fronts. During the national strikes in steel, automobiles, coal, meat packing, and electrical goods, black and white labor presented a united front, and in the recent labor disputes there was no thought of anything less than full support of industrial unions by Negro labor. The recruitment of mass Negro strike-breakers appears to be a thing of the past. Certainly their introduction would find little support in the Negro communities of most industrial centers.[8]

---

[8] Robert C. Weaver, "Negro Labor Since 1929," in Arnold M. Rose (ed.), *Race Prejudice and Discrimination,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1951.

Another significant trend has been the development among Negroes of an educated and sophisticated leadership of their own, not only articulate in stating the Negroes' case, but also equipped to guide the strategy of organizations against discriminatory practices.

Probably among such developments should be listed the rising fear of communism as a movement in the United States. This fear became important during the depression years and prior to the Second World War and has intensified since. It has led many to consider seriously the possibility of communistic organization of Negroes, especially in the South, and therefore the recognition of a need for preventive action, mainly in the amelioration of the worst conditions among Negroes and the most obvious injustices practiced against them.

Deliberate Programs. Two types of programs aimed at the improvement of the lot of Negroes in this country have come into prominence in recent years, although most have a long developmental history behind them. The one is in the direction of securing civil rights and equality for Negroes through legislation and the courts; the other is to promote better understanding and increased tolerance through interracial education. Such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People and the younger National Urban League, with memberships mainly of Negroes but including some sympathetic whites, have been concerned largely with securing civil rights, although they also have educational programs. Numerous commissions, semipublic in nature, have been established in recent years, especially in large cities, to study interracial tensions and to promote tolerance and understanding between the races. These have had their impetus largely from the fear of race riots, several of which have caused grave concern over possible future outbreaks.

Voluntary nonofficial committees have come into existence in every part of the country, in many smaller communities as well as in larger ones, actively to promote interracial education. Most church denominations in the country have their own commissions, at both the national and the local levels, whose aims are to help increase race tolerance; and many colleges and universities, as well as some public-school systems, have programs ranging from research and teaching to "social action" in this field. The American Council on Race Relations, established by grants from large foundations, has been set up as a clearinghouse of information and programs of the variety of organizations dealing with problems of Negro adjustment as well as those of other ethnic and racial groups in the country.

Open opposition to movements toward either greater interracial tolerance or the furthering of civil rights of Negroes has practically disappeared, and when it is shown, it meets with strong public disapprobation generally, although not always, locally. Such opposition and obstacles as do exist to the programs are indirect, such as opposition on grounds that the organizations or some of them are "communist fronts"; or obstacles may lie in the general inertia where changes in the existing social framework are concerned. Directions and trends, however, are clear and indicate that the racial accommodation now forming will give the Negroes a much less restricted range of participation in American society and a closer approach to social equality than they have had at any previous time.

Lynching and Violence. Interracial violence has been frequent and has taken many forms in the United States, but it appears to be declining as orderly processes of law become more firmly established. The principal forms of violence have been lynching, especially in the rural South, and race riots in northern and border cities.

Lynching began in the United States as a means of meting out popular justice on the frontier before the establishment of adequate law-enforcement machinery in the various areas out of touch with regular agencies of government. At first the term applied to any extra-legal justice imposed by groups and communities, but later it became restricted to the inflicting of death penalties upon supposed violators of frontier law and mores, without legal process. In the days of the western frontier, lynching was practiced mainly against white offenders, but after 1890 it became chiefly a means of controlling and intimidating Negroes in the South, and as such, became a national and international scandal. What appear to be reliable statistics indicate that the lynching of Negroes reached its highest frequency in the decade 1890 to 1899 and has fallen off since that time at a fairly rapid rate.

Perhaps more significant than the lynchings themselves has been the fear of lynching which has been kept alive and has hung over southern Negroes for generations. It has served as an effective weapon in their control and undoubtedly has accounted for many behavior traits such as the avoidance of overt expression of hostility by southern Negroes toward whites. In the customary pattern of lynching, the intended Negro victim is usually charged with a sex crime or other violence toward whites; and without more than a pretense at establishing guilt, the victim is first arrested by white officers, then surrendered to a mob which proceeds to inflict torture and death on the Negro. A lynching mob can instill the utmost terror in a Negro community with implied threats to all the Negroes in it.

The lynching of Negroes has been closely related to certain widely held assumptions regarding Negro criminality, which has made Negroes espe-

Lynchings, Whites and Negroes, by Periods, 1882–1947 *

PERIOD	TOTAL	WHITES	NEGROES
1882–1889	1,203	669	534
1890–1899	1,540	429	1,111
1900–1909	885	94	791
1910–1919	616	53	563
1920–1929	315	34	281
1930–1939	131	11	120
1940–1947	27	1	26
Totals . .	4,717	1,291	3,426

* Maurice R. Davie, *Negroes in American Society,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949, p. 342.

cially liable to arrest and conviction in all parts of the country, but more especially in the South. Published crime statistics for the United States in recent years indicate that the crime rate among Negroes (as shown by convictions and prison populations) is about four times as high as that for whites, and the ratio is even higher when Negro women and white women are compared. There can be little doubt that a part, if not all, of this differential lies in the facts that Negroes are more readily suspected, easier to apprehend, less able to defend themselves in court, and thus more likely to be committed to prisons than are whites.

There has always been strong public opposition to lynching, more in the North than in the South, but also among many individual leaders and organizations of the South. Their concerted efforts have been largely responsible for the steady decline in mob violence, even though repeated efforts to secure national legislation to prevent lynching have failed.

The early race riots involving Negroes took place in the South during the period of reconstruction and usually had their beginnings in election disturbances when considerable numbers of Negroes attempted to exercise their franchise. With the northward migration of Negroes and their rapid urbanization, the race riot became a more typically northern and urban phenomenon. The most recent wave of such riots occurred in 1942–1943, war years, when there were serious riots in Detroit, Los Angeles, and New York. Since that time most large cities have established commissions whose principal functions are to prevent similar violent outbreaks.

Race riots in urban communities usually start from a small incident which is magnified by rumors; but the incident cannot, in any realistic sense, be said to be the "cause" of the rioting. In the study of race riots and their backgrounds, a clear pattern has emerged in which long accumulated tensions prepare the way for violence which any incident, real or fancied, can set off. In the northern industrial communities, under the stresses of wartime needs, contributing causes to riots have been economic competition, job displacement of whites by in-migrating Negroes, and acute housing problems.

Race riots usually last over a period of several days and are marked by active resistance on the part of Negroes to white aggressions. They are seldom organized and may break out in several parts of cities as rumors spread. Their aftereffects may be more damaging to interracial relations than are lynchings, since the riots are long remembered and tend to increase the fear among whites of possible organized Negro violence.

Negro Education. Already mentioned as a factor in the changing situation of the Negro in American society has been that of the development of an educated leadership, which is but one of the products and aspects of educational advancement among Negroes. In fact, the education available to Negroes, as well as the proportions of them who are receiving education, is changing so rapidly that it is difficult to give an accurate picture as of a given time. Certainly, since the days of slavery there has been a steady increase in the number of schools, the number of Negro pupils, and the quality of instruction they receive. Recently these trends have been so accelerated that in the national picture the historic gap between Negroes and whites in these respects is rapidly closing.

Higher education has been slower in its beginnings and development, and statistically it is a relatively small proportion of Negroes who have had the opportunity of studying in colleges or universities of accredited standing. This proportion has also recently increased greatly, and the number and proportion of college-trained Negroes including those in the various professions are growing considerably. Many faculties of non-Negro institutions in the North, especially, have Negro faculty members, and growing numbers of Negroes are found at professional organizational meetings. Even in the South, both under pressure of court decisions and voluntarily, more and more institutions of higher learning are admitting Negro students. There are lags, and there is often resistance to such changes, but the trend is definite.

The Negro Press. A highly significant influence, especially in promoting solidarity in the Negro community of the United States, is the large Negro press. This press includes hundreds of periodical publications, including newspapers, magazines, church, fraternal, and school publications, but its principal influence is exerted by Negro newspapers owned and published by Negroes for Negro subscribers. There are about 150 Negro newspapers in the country, only one a daily newspaper, the remainder weeklies. They have a combined circulation of about 2 million readers, and their circulation is growing. Half the circulation is claimed by a score of the largest newspapers published in the larger cities of the country, principally Chicago, New York, Baltimore, Atlanta, and Birmingham.

The Negro press had its beginning early in the nineteenth century as a means of protest against injustices to the Negroes. It has maintained that character largely and has further grown by supplementing the white press which usually ignores news of Negroes except in crime and sports. The Negro press makes little effort to give full news coverage and selects for publication mainly items bearing upon the position and hopes of the Negroes of the country. It is a militant press, quick to take stands where interracial problems are concerned.

The Negro Church. The Christian church has been one of the principal institutions among the Negroes, who were early converted by Methodist and Baptist missionaries, as previously noted. The church has historically been the chief and often the only avenue through which Negro leadership could develop and find expression; and in the church the Negro has had less interference from the whites than in other types of organized activity. Thus the church has been a principal influence in the life and adjustments of the Negroes.

There are about 40,000 Negro churches in the country, the proportion of churches to population being much higher than for other groups in the country. Nearly 6 million Negroes are enumerated as church members. Of this number almost 4 million belong to the separate Negro Baptist denomination, and almost a million more to the Negro Methodist churches. The remainder are scattered among a large number of independent denominations and churches, with a relatively few belonging to white denominations, principally the Roman Catholic.

The Negro church, like other phases of Negro life, is in a stage of rapid transition. Traditionally, Negro religious practices have been notable for their emotionalism and high content of superstition, as well as the ignorant if well-meaning Negro country preacher. Increasingly, and especially among the better educated upper classes of Negroes, the Negro church is approaching in form and practice the white churches, and a better educated leadership is rapidly developing in the ministry. Less militant on the whole than the Negro press, the Negro church nevertheless has lent considerable strength to movements to secure justice and civil rights for Negroes.

SUMMARY

The Negro problem in the United States is primarily one of adjustment between a dominant and a subordinate racial group. The fact of racial difference is confirmed by both common-sense and scientific observation. The situation is confused and aggravated, however, by a number of widely held racial myths which emphasize the superiority of one group and inferiority of the other, the difference presumably fixed in hereditary biological traits. It is further aggravated by fears, apparently with little foundation, that the Negroes will become a greater and even dominant proportion of the general population, and of a large-scale dilution of whites by Negro blood.

The racial adjustment problem is inseparable from the cultural, for while Negroes and whites in the United States share a single culture, that aspect displayed by Negroes is a limited and somewhat distorted parallel to the dominant culture. While there is a general differential in cultural attributes, there are also many differences both within the Negro and within the white culture groups. Thus the urban culture now being developed by Negroes differs in many respects from the older rural culture; and in some respects Negro cultural characteristics are very like those of particular groups of whites who live in the same regions and under similar circumstances. The whole cultural situation is oversimplified by the widely held stereotypes of the Negroes which many Negroes find it expedient to imitate in their relationships with whites.

The position of Negroes in American society is generally referred to by the term "caste," and it does have many resemblances to caste systems as recognized elsewhere. In terms of social stratification, the Negroes quite generally occupy the lower levels, economically and socially. Within the Negro caste, there is a class system which is a replica of that which prevails in the dominant white society. A complicating factor in the stratification is the general poverty of the Negroes, to which there are relatively few exceptions. This is both cause and effect of discrimination in economic and occupational opportunities and thus constitutes a vicious circle.

One of the most significant aspects of the adjustment of the Negroes currently is the fact of rapid and urgent change. Changes in interracial relationships are due partly to a number of deep-seated trends to which they are incidental, and partly to deliberate programs of numerous organizations, Negro and white, aimed at defense of Negro civil rights and at education in tolerance in race relations.

Among the recent significant changes in relationships have been the steady rise in the Negro level of living, the development of educated and able Negro leadership, and the decline of violence, notably lynching, in interracial conflict.

While the Negroes probably will not become a much larger proportion of the general population of the country than at present, they will achieve an accommodation which will give them a much wider sphere of participation in American life, with a nearer approach to equality with whites in many lines of activity.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is the significance of racial myths for Negro adjustments in the United States?
2. How do problems of cultural and racial adjustment overlap where Negroes are concerned?
3. Do the Negroes constitute a caste in this country? What may be said for and against such a notion?
4. What are the characteristics of class differences among the Negroes themselves?
5. What principal changes in relationships are taking place between Negroes and whites in this country?
6. How have changing labor conditions affected the adjustment of the Negro in recent years?
7. What have experiences in the two World Wars indicated about Negroes in combat?
8. What concrete evidences are there of changing status for American Negroes generally?
9. What chief approaches are used by deliberate programs to alleviate discriminatory practices toward the Negro?
10. How do migratory movements affect attitudes toward the "Negro problem"?

SUGGESTED READINGS

BAKER, PAUL E., *Negro-White Adjustment,* Association Press, New York, 1934.
DRAKE, ST. CLAIR, and HORACE M. CAYTON, *Black Metropolis,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1945.
FRAZIER, E. FRANKLIN, *The Negro Family in Chicago,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1932.
GOSNELL, HAROLD F., *Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1935.
HALSEY, MARGARET, *Color Blind,* Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York, 1946.
JOHNSON, CHARLES S., and ASSOCIATES, *Into the Main Stream,* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1946.
LOGAN, RAYFORD W. (ed.), *What the Negro Wants,* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1944.

LONG, HERMAN H., and CHARLES E. JOHNSON, *People vs. Property,* Fisk University Press, Nashville, 1947.

MCIVER, R. M., *The More Perfect Union,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1948.

MYRDAL, GUNNAR, *An American Dilemma,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944.

WILLIAMS, ROBIN M., JR., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions,* Social Science Research Council, Committee on Public Administration, Washington, D.C., 1947.

CHAPTER 17

SPANISH-SPEAKING AMERICANS

NEXT TO THE NEGROES the largest distinct and unassimilated ethnic group in the United States is that of the Spanish-speaking Americans, mostly immigrants or recent descendants of immigrants from Mexico. While the exact number of people who would fall into this category is unknown, it is probable that 3.5 million, or more than 2 per cent of the total population, would be included. These people are mainly concentrated in five states of the American Southwest—Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado—but some are also found in cities of the Middle West and Northeast, including principally Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City, and New York. A few are found seasonally in other cities and states since as a people they are highly mobile.

Much of the lack of adequate demographic information about the group is due to the difficulty of finding any single criterion by which they can be distinguished. The Bureau of the Census in 1930 attempted to enumerate them under the heading "Mexican," defining them in their instructions to the enumerators as "all persons born in Mexico or having parents born in Mexico, who are not definitely white, Negro, Indian, Chinese, or Japanese." The principal difficulty with this definition, aside from the confusion of racial and cultural concepts, was that it excluded persons whose grandparents, great-grandparents, or even more remote ancestors had come to the Southwest by way of Mexico. In New Mexico, for example, where the Spanish-speaking people have lived for more than three centuries, only 61,960 "Mexicans" were enumerated, although it was a matter of common knowledge that the Spanish-speaking group made up about half the population of the state, or something over 200,000 persons.[1]

Historically, it is well to recall that a large portion of what is now the western United States at one time was a part of the Spanish Empire, and more recently was a part of the Republic of Mexico. When Texas became independent of Mexico in 1836, the population of Texas was mainly Spanish speaking. When, at the conclusion of the Mexican War in 1848, the United States annexed territory including what now comprises the states of Arizona and New Mexico and parts of California and Colorado, most of the few residents scattered through this vast area were Spanish speaking. Thus a considerable proportion of the residents of these various states became American citizens by virtue of the inclusion of the region in which they lived into this country.

---

[1] Lyle Saunders, "The Spanish-speaking Population of Texas," Inter-American Education Occasional Papers V, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1949, p. 8.

There followed a long period in which the influx of Anglo-Americans gradually reduced the Spanish-speaking people to the status of a minority in the area, and although they increased in numbers, the growth was much less rapid than that of the English-speaking people.

At the time of the First World War when European immigration declined rapidly, shortly to be brought under quota controls, and when the demand for labor in the United States was greatly augmented by war needs, a large new immigration began from Latin America, especially from Mexico. This immigration, offset slightly by returning emigration, continued until the depression years of the 1930's, when it fell off rapidly and for short periods was exceeded by emigration. The approach and actuality of the Second World War brought a renewal of large-scale immigration from Latin America, especially from Mexico and Puerto Rico, an immigration which has been controlled somewhat by officials on both sides of the Mexican border but which, in the main, continues to the present time. The fact that a considerable part of the immigration is illegal, and that there are no accurate figures in the United States on returning emigrants, makes impossible a precise estimate of the present number of Mexicans in the United States.

RACIAL FACTORS

There are a few immigrants and descendants of immigrants from Spain in the Spanish-speaking group in the United States, and these few are mainly Mediterranean Caucasoid in race, with perhaps admixture of unknown quantities from other racial stocks. The great majority of the Spanish-speaking people of the United States, however, are *mestizo,* or mixed Spanish and Indian stock. The mestizos have different proportions of Spanish and Indian blood, ranging from almost "pure" European to "pure" Indian, but in all probability they are chiefly Indian by race. The Indian blood probably represents a variety in stock, however, because Indians of both Mexico and the American Southwest are of differing physiological types.

The racial background of the great majority of the Spanish-speaking people of the country gives them a social visibility which has been sufficient to set them apart in general thinking as a distinct racial group and to bring into play a racial factor in most intergroup contacts in which they have been involved. The general social visibility is less than that in the case of

Negroes, and the color line is not so tightly drawn so that there is constant intermarriage, although on a limited scale, between Spanish- and English-speaking Americans, and such intermarriage does not come under the strong moral disapprobation as is found in the case of Negro or Oriental intermarriage with whites.

While the pollution ideology operates to some extent and in some communities against the Spanish-speaking people, there is no caste division comparable to that which has been described in connection with the Negroes. In general, it might be said that the accommodation of the Spanish-speaking Americans is a confused one, lacking in uniformity except locally and presenting many inconsistencies.

CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT

The adjustment problem of Spanish-speaking Americans is mainly cultural, for there exists between most of them and the dominant Anglo community a gulf of misunderstanding and mistrust. There is a difference in language, as the term Spanish-speaking implies; a difference in religion, for the minority ethnic group is Roman Catholic almost in its entirety; and a marked difference in general attitude toward life between the two groups. To some extent the cultural differences, especially where newly arrived immigrants are concerned, are complicated by strong feelings of nationalism and a heritage of various historic conflicts between Mexico and the United States.

The Mexican background of the migrants is that of a rural folk culture, partly Amerindian and partly Spanish, with a relatively low development of economic technology, a strong religious orientation, and a communal attitude toward land and social organization. It is a culture group in which there is a strong extended family organization operating within and supported by a closely knit village community. People coming from this culture into the more individualistic, economically advanced, and less institutionalized atmosphere of the United States are disadvantaged and bewildered. One of the distinguishing features of the Hispanic cultural group in this country has been their general resistance to acculturation and Americanization, largely because such transitions seem to imply a destruction of their own familiar life ways.

Cultural Differentials. With such generalizations in mind it must be recognized that the Spanish-speaking population of the United States is a heterogeneous one and recognizes differentials within itself. The principal differential is that between the native Spanish-speaking people, descendants of the earliest European colonists in the Southwest, many of whom were in what is now the United States before the first English-speaking colonists arrived on the Atlantic shore, and the more recently arrived immigrants from the various Latin-American countries. In the case of the native Spanish-speaking people, they are Americans in loyalties and orientation, even though they differ markedly from the dominant English-speaking group. The recent immigrants, especially those from Mexico, are strongly attached to their home country. These two groups have been, over centuries, subjected to somewhat different cultural influences, and while they share language and religion and other basic cultural characteristics, they also differ to a considerable degree in these as well as other cultural manifestations.

A second important difference is between the Mexican immigrants, the great majority of the ethnic group, and those from other places, such as the Puerto Ricans, some 300,000 of whom live in New York. There are also recent immigrants from other Latin-American countries, sharing some of the cultural attributes of the Spanish-speaking people in general but presenting variations and contrasts in others.

There are also significant differences between those of Spanish-speaking descent who have been born in the United States and those who have been brought up elsewhere; between urban and rural, the industrial workers and the agricultural; and there are differences which are largely regional in nature and which reflect to some extent the treatment received by the Spanish-speaking group at the hands of English-speaking neighbors.

Published materials on the Spanish-speaking people are fragmentary and inadequate to give the total picture. Much less has been written about them than about either the Negro or the Amerindian, and much of what has been written in recent years is more in the nature of special pleading than of scientific description or analysis. What has been written treats their problem largely within the framework of a single locality or region which suggests itself as a convenient approach, therefore, for further analysis.

The Problem in Texas. Of the 3.5 million Spanish-speaking people in the United States, more than a million live in Texas. They make up about one-seventh the population of that state and appear to be growing in numbers more rapidly than the general population of the state. In Texas, Spanish-speaking people live in every county, but they are mainly concentrated near the Mexican border and a few urban centers such as San Antonio.

There is a long history of conflict between Texas and Mexico. There was a small Spanish-speaking population in Texas long before any English-

Spanish-speaking Population of the Southwest *

STATE	TOTAL POPULATION	SPANISH-SPEAKING POPULATION
Texas	7,500,000	1,150,000
California	10,500,000	500,000
New Mexico	650,000	250,000
Arizona	750,000	160,000
Colorado	1,350,000	50,000

* Figures are approximate, to indicate roughly the proportion of Spanish-speaking people in each state. Since there are no precise statistics on the Spanish-speaking group, pretense at greater accuracy would be meaningless.

speaking people set foot in the area, and even at the time of the Revolution in which Texas gained independence from Mexico, the majority of the people of the new Republic were Spanish-speaking. After the annexation of Texas by the United States, there was a large and rapid influx of English-speaking people and considerable numbers of Negro slaves. This reduced the Spanish-speaking people to a numerical minority, although their actual status had already become that of a minority in so far as power relations were concerned.

The Spanish-speaking people of Texas were considered both as aliens and as an inferior racial group from the time that English-speaking people first began to drift into Texas, and patterns of segregation and discrimination were to be found everywhere. The stereotype of the Mexican as a crafty and villainous person dominated all intergroup relations. Yet, as the lower Rio Grande Valley was developed agriculturally, there was an insistent and growing need for cheap labor, the greater part of which came from Mexico, and as such Mexican labor became a part of the pattern of agriculture in that region and, to a lesser extent, throughout Texas. They became the migratory farm labor even in sections which had few resident Spanish-speaking people.

> Generally speaking the Latin American migratory worker going into West Texas is regarded as a necessary evil, nothing more or less than an unavoidable adjunct to the harvest season. Judging by the treatment that has been accorded him in that section of the State, one might assume that he is not a human being at all, but a species of farm implement that comes mysteriously and spontaneously into being coincident with the maturing of cotton, that requires no upkeep or special consideration during the period of its usefulness, needs no protection from the elements, and when the crop has been harvested,

> vanishes into the limbo of forgotten things—until the next harvest season rolls around. He has no past, no future, only a brief and anonymous present.[2]

During the past decade the Mexican government has refused to permit the movement of Mexican labor into Texas and other parts of the United States except under guarantees regarding discriminatory treatment, and this policy has had the official support of the government of the United States. The pressure arising from the felt need for Mexican labor has been so great, however, that a large illicit movement of Mexican labor back and forth across the border, mainly into Texas, has developed. The illegal entrants, regionally known as "wetbacks," have become a considerable part of the problem of the Spanish-speaking people in Texas, and regularly, year in and year out, the U.S. Immigration Service conducts routine arrests and deportations without, however, greatly reducing the flow. One authority has recently written: [3]

> One of the most serious problems facing the people of Texas is the presence in the state of a very large, but as yet undetermined, number of wetbacks—illegal aliens who cross the border from Mexico mainly in search of agricultural employment but who are to be found in many cities of the state and in many non-agricultural jobs. The Spanish-speaking Texans are not the only ones affected. Every citizen of the state, Spanish- and English-speaking alike, shares, to a greater or lesser extent, in the evil effects and devastating repercussions that derive from the presence in the state of from a hundred thousand to half a million wanderers—men, women, and children—without legal status, without skills, without knowledge of our ways and customs, without protection and without opportunity for improving their condition. No citizen of the state, or of the other states into which many of the wetbacks eventually drift, can escape the consequences that grow out of the importation of this contraband labor—consequences which appear in the form of poverty, disease, slums, ignorance, dependency, low wages, and social and personal disorganization not only for the wetbacks themselves but for the Spanish-speaking citizens whom they displace and the English-speaking Texans in whose communities they and the thousands of displaced persons come to live.
>
> No one knows how many wetbacks there are in Texas, but everyone who has given thought to the problem is aware that the number is almost unbelievably large. Low as are the wages which they can command for their services, those low wages are still several times greater than could be earned in Mexico. This economic differential becomes a powerful attractive force, drawing the laborers across the border in numbers which the Immigration Service and the Border Patrol with their present staffs (approximately one patrol officer for each forty miles of border) could not control, even if they always wanted to.

---

[2] Pauline R. Kibbe, *Latin Americans in Texas,* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1946, p. 176.

[3] Lyle Saunders, "Wetbacks; A Preliminary Report to the Advisory Committee, Study of Spanish-speaking People," University of Texas, 1949, mimeographed, pp. 1–2.

The Second World War brought a decided turn in the situation in Texas. The change has been largely spearheaded by returned Spanish-speaking young men who were in the armed services, working through their veterans' and other organizations of Spanish-speaking people and sympathetic English-speaking leaders. The principal demand has been for civil rights, including an end to the most obvious discriminations and segregations, the latter especially in the schools. Notable gains have been brought about both through political action in those counties where the Spanish-speaking people make up a large proportion of the voting population and through court action.

New Mexico. New Mexico has the largest number of native Spanish-speaking citizens descended from early settlers who were in the area before it became a part of the United States. Of the quarter million or more Spanish-speaking people of the state, fewer than 10,000 are recent immigrants or descended from recent immigrants. The Spanish-speaking people make up 40 per cent of the state's total population, as much as 80 per cent of the population in a half-dozen counties, and a majority in several other counties. This large proportionate number in the population has made the group politically potent in New Mexico, distinguishing the situation in this state from that of other states. Under guidance of their own political leaders, the Spanish-speaking people have used the ballot to protect their status in the state effectively, even to the extent of demanding and getting a proportionate share of the state elective offices set aside for Spanish-speaking office seekers, and a large representation in appointive political jobs.

The Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico have developed a number of unique cultural traits which distinguish them from other Spanish-speaking people of the country. To quote from a previous description of them: [4]

> The story of the Spanish speaking communities of New Mexico is that of a people who, in isolation from the rest of the world, found an adjustment to their physical environment and resources which served as a comfortable and secure way of life for three hundred years; and then in a single generation have seen the bases of that adjustment swept from under them. A quarter million of these people now face the pressing need of adapting themselves to new conditions for which they are but poorly equipped by their customs and traditions. They must make sweeping cultural readjustments, it appears, with little or no outside aid, and they are notably lacking in initiative and self-reliance. It is a crisis which has descended upon them with such startling rapidity that there is not yet sufficient perspective for complete appraisal.

[4] Paul Walter, Jr., "The Spanish Speaking Community in New Mexico," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 24, 1939, pp. 150–151.

> For an understanding of the situation it is necessary to keep in mind a number of factors, including principally the following:
>
> First: New Mexico is unique among the states of the nation in that more than half its population speaks native languages other than English. Yet, those who use native languages other than English and whose cultures differ correspondingly from the dominant American culture are not immigrants but descendants of people who resided there when the United States took over the territory in 1848.
>
> Second: The non-English speaking peoples fall into two groups. One of them, about thirty thousand Indians, was recognized at the outset as presenting an ethnic problem. They were taken under the protection of the federal government which has given them considerable aid and guidance, helping them make a gradual readjustment. The other group, about a quarter of a million Spanish speaking people, were given oaths of allegiance and ignored, being left to shift for themselves as best they could, even though their needs were very similar to those of the Indians.

The native Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico have been mainly rural and agricultural until recent years, when they began an influx into towns and cities which is rapidly depopulating many rural villages and bringing population declines to a number of counties. This means that the intercultural adjustment problem is rapidly becoming complicated by urbanization. In most of the towns and cities of the state there are large Spanish-speaking populations, somewhat segregated, but not rigidly so. In a few towns there is segregation in schools, but this is exceptional, and for the most part the Spanish- and English-speaking groups mix freely.

A sharp line of distinction is drawn by the native Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico between themselves and the few recent Mexican immigrants, and the latter are looked down upon as inferior culturally and racially. The native Spanish-speaking people resent being called Mexican, since the term is considered by them as derogatory.

Early in New Mexico's history there was considerable admixture between the Indians of the area and the Spanish-speaking group, but in recent decades there has been very little, each group keeping largely to itself.

California. Most of California's Spanish-speaking population consists of recent Mexican immigrants or their descendants, although in this state there is a small proportion of native Spanish-speaking people. The immigrant group is made up in part of agricultural workers, following harvest needs for labor from place to place, living unstable lives, often in dire poverty and disadvantaged in every way. Under pressure largely from the Mexican government and to some extent from the government of the United States, some protections have been thrown around the migratory labor group, and facilities for their accommodation have been constructed.

There is a considerable urban Spanish-speaking population in California, the largest being in Los Angeles. For the most part this group is made up of unskilled workers engaged in menial occupations at low wages. Like other unassimilated immigrants, they live in slum areas and are largely segregated. The problems they present are somewhat like those of urban Negroes and, in Los Angeles, these problems have led to some disorders, although to no extended rioting. Usually outbreaks have occurred around what are referred to as "zoot suiters," Mexican youths, often of delinquent habits, who present an acute adjustment problem, akin to that of all marginal second-generation adolescents.

Arizona and Colorado. The Spanish-speaking people of Arizona present much the same picture as that found in California. They are, generally speaking, a suppressed and submerged group, largely segregated, and objects of various types of discrimination. A prominent Arizona educator recently described the situation: [5]

> Few generalizations can be made after examining the segregation practices in over twenty-five Arizona communities. One thing is clear—there is no such thing as an "Arizona pattern." Segregation (not only of Negroes, but also of Indian and Spanish speaking students) varies from community to community even though the communities have populations which are very similar.
>
> The mining towns are composed for the most part of people of widely differing national origins, and most Arizona mining towns have large numbers of Spanish speaking people. One would expect to find a common pattern in these places. Two cities, Morenci and Hayden, do not practice school segregation. Globe and Miami segregate Negroes, and Ajo instructs Spanish speaking and Indian children separately.
>
> Spanish speaking persons constitute large minority (or majority) groups in the cities of Douglas, Nogales, Flagstaff, St. Johns, Springerville, Safford, and Tucson. Yet the procedure followed in these communities is far from uniform. Douglas, located at the border of Mexico, groups Spanish speaking and Indian elementary students separately in classrooms and a separate school is provided for Negroes. Nogales, another border city, segregates Negro children but has an unsegregated policy where Spanish speaking pupils are concerned. The reason for this policy is obvious: many of the prominent citizens are persons of Mexican extraction. Flagstaff segregates Spanish speaking and Negro children in the lower grades, but lets down the bars and has only one junior high school. St. Johns formerly had a policy of strict segregation where Spanish speaking and non-Spanish speaking students were concerned, a policy which is gradually breaking down. Springerville, a nearby town with about the same percentage of Spanish speaking people, does not segregate pupils.

---

[5] Grady Gammage, in an address before the Southwestern Council on Education of Spanish-speaking People, January, 1950; summarized proceedings of the Conference, mimeographed.

In Colorado the Spanish-speaking culture group is, mainly, much like that of New Mexico, largely native in the sense of being descended from early settlers, and, in southern Colorado, rural and agrarian, living by themselves in valleys where they have been able to maintain their traditional status. In northern Colorado there are, from time to time, considerable numbers of migratory workers engaged in beet harvesting and other agricultural labor. These include recent immigrants from Mexico as well as a considerable proportion of young people from other states such as Texas and New Mexico. These migratory workers present much the same problem and receive the same treatment as do those of California and Arizona agricultural areas.

Eastern Urban Centers. The need for labor during the First World War which started large-scale Negro migration to northeastern urban centers also drew to them considerable numbers of Mexican immigrants, and this latter movement has continued intermittently to the present time. There are now sizable Mexican communities in Chicago and Detroit and in other industrial cities. These Mexicans occupy low places in the socio-economic scale and are slow to assimilate into the general population. An exceptional few have been able to rise rapidly to higher occupational levels and thus to become, in effect, a part of the dominant group, losing their identity as members of a distinct ethnic group.

New York and some of the cities of New England have had, in recent years, sizable immigrations of Puerto Rican Spanish-speaking people, who in many ways resemble the Mexican immigrants. Their adjustment problems are very similar, presenting the difficulties of difference in language and other aspects of cultural background. The Puerto Ricans have varying amounts of Negro blood which enhances their social visibility, with the result that they have largely accommodated themselves on the outskirts of Harlem and other Negro districts, where they mingle freely with the urban Negroes.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

From what has been said of the various distinguishable groups of Spanish-speaking people in different parts of the country, the rural and urban, native and immigrant, some generalizations can be drawn, since the group as a whole presents a number of special problems of adjustment and acculturation. These are of course similar to some extent to the problems presented by all disadvantaged groups in the population and, for that matter, in all parts of the world, but in some respects they are especially critical in this case.

Poverty and Stratification. As has been emphasized repeatedly in this book, a principal complication to the adjustment of ethnic groups is usually poverty of one group, and this is the case of the Spanish-speaking people. There are numerous well-to-do and even comparatively wealthy members of the group, but these are exceptional, and the lot of the very great majority is that of precarious existence at a near subsistence level. All studies of Spanish-speaking Americans reinforce this general fact, which is stated in a summary fashion by one observer: [6]

> The vast majority of the Spanish speaking people in the Southwestern portion of the United States will be found to be in the lower economic group. For the most part, they or their parents have been the victims of exploitation at the hands of unscrupulous employers. The result has been one grand vicious circle. It is necessary for all members of the household who can, to work a full day in order that the family may obtain the bare necessities of life. Unbiased observers like Agnes Meyer in her series of articles in the Washington Post bear testimony to this fact. When families are so poor that even the children must work, it becomes impossible to secure even the minimum of education for these children. A man without education (and as in the case of the Spanish speaking people with a language handicap) has no other choice than to become a common laborer. If he is a common laborer and is badly housed, without water or sewer facilities; and if he is forced to live in a colony at the edge of town always "across the tracks" or "on the other side of the river," it is asking him to lift himself by his bootstraps when you tell him that he ought to better his condition. Complicating the problem is the fact that "Mexican" neighborhoods in most cities are without playgrounds and playground facilities; poorly lighted or with no lights at all; hounded by unsympathetic law enforcement officials; and worst of all with inadequate school buildings and badly trained teachers.

The general poverty of the Spanish-speaking people is closely linked with, and an aggravating factor in, other difficult problems. It enters importantly into both the problems of their education and that of the health of the group, as the following quotation indicates: [7]

> Experiments conducted among the Latin American children in New Mexico have revealed that not only does the absence of foods containing calcium, proteins and vitamins from the diet cause rickets and general physical debility, but that it also prevents the child from having sufficient mental energy to carry him through a day in school. It was found that children subsisting on grossly deficient diets were mentally alert and capable of learning for no longer than

---

[6] Statement by Rev. John J. Birch of San Antonio, Tex., before the President's Committee on Civil Rights, quoted in Alfonso S. Perales, *Are We Good Neighbors?* Leatheright, San Antonio, 1948, p. 54.

[7] Kibbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–103.

the first two hours of class work. After that time they were present in the class in body only.

Above and beyond all these reasons for the Spanish speaking child's failure to make satisfactory progress in school is another consideration of paramount importance. With frequent outstanding exceptions, our elementary teachers have been lacking entirely in a knowledge and understanding of Latin American children; and until the very recent past, the teacher-training institutions in Texas were not actively aware of the fact that the successful instruction of the Spanish speaking children requires special teaching methods and classroom materials, in addition to a general and fairly comprehensive knowledge and understanding of their social characteristics and economic background. Add to this the fact that, in many Texas school districts, teachers in segregated schools receive from $400.00 to $600.00 a year less salary than those in other schools and it is readily understandable why, for the most part, the inferior academic qualifications of teachers of Latin American children act as a deterrent to both attendance and progress.

Educational Problems. Since the great majority of the Spanish-speaking people of the United States either speak no English or are bilingual, the group presents a special problem of education. In rural settings or in urban districts which are entirely or mainly Spanish-speaking, the native Spanish remains the language of the home and of primary group relations, and often the contacts with English-speaking individuals and groups are few and of limited scope, except in school. The linguistic problem is basic to educational difficulties which result in low standards of literacy and educational attainment in the group, but many other aspects of their education contribute to the difficulty. One student of the problem in Texas explains some facets of the problem: [8]

> One can readily see that a major problem with the Mexicans, then, is keeping them in school. Often they must go with their families in the fall and spring to work and cannot attend school over six months at a time. In general their attitudes and deportment are average to the Americans, but their attendance halts their educational progress with the others. The ones who get to start with the group show commendable records, activity, and interest. On the secondary level, the slow, shiftless Latins have been basically weeded from the numbers; consequently the Mexicans enrolled in junior and senior high schools are recommended by all school officials as being of exceptional quality. They participate in extra-curricular activities, have interesting hobbies, work at part-time jobs after school and during summers, and dream of professions for their future.

Even the native Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico, whose families have lived in the area for many generations and under the jurisdiction of the United States since 1848, still cling to Spanish as their principal tongue, especially where they continue to live rural lives. In describing the situation in one such rural community, an educational expert wrote recently: [9]

---

[8] Martha Jean Dowd, "Educating the Latin Americans in Waco, Texas," unpublished Master's thesis, Baylor University, May, 1949, p. 83.

> 1. The children in the Nambe school, with the exception of three or four Anglos, came from Spanish speaking homes. Most of the children knew no English when they entered school and many heard very little English outside the school. This situation is slowly changing.
>
> 2. For various reasons, there were a very large number of over-age children who were not scholastically equal to the demands of the grade in which their age would ordinarily find them.
>
> 3. Certain errors in oral English could be heard in every grade and demanded continual attention of teachers.
>
> 4. The economic status of most of the parents was not high. Consequently, the breadth of the experience of the children was limited. Specifically, a literary background was almost entirely lacking.

In urban settings the problem is somewhat different, since the pressure is greater to bring about efforts by parents and children to attain adequate education. In urban communities, however, other complicating factors enter. In those communities where there is no segregation of Spanish-speaking children, such children are likely to encounter prejudice and hostility from some of the other children and even from teachers. However, in recent years, especially since the Second World War, many families of Spanish-speaking origins have discontinued the use of Spanish in the home and, where conditions have permitted, have become dispersed in principally English-speaking neighborhoods, in which cases the children fit better into the schools and old cultural traits are rapidly lost.

Health and Agency Problems. Vital statistics of areas with large Spanish-speaking populations reflect a generally high rate of morbidity, accompanied by high rates of infant mortality and relatively short life expectancy. Thus, Arizona and New Mexico with relatively large Spanish-speaking groups proportionately have ranked near the highest among the states in these regards as well as in the incidence of many diseases which have been practically eliminated in the other states. Since there are no special health agencies to serve the Spanish-speaking people, the burden falls largely upon public health departments and semipublic hospitals which have been unable to cope with it adequately. The past few years have brought considerable improvement in this condition, but it still remains acute, judging by prevailing standards of the country.

---

[9] L. S. Tireman, *La Communidad, Report of the Nambe Community School 1937–1942,* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1943, p. 22.

Other public agencies also have unusually heavy burdens where there are concentrations of Spanish-speaking people. This is especially true in urban communities, where agencies dealing with problems of delinquency and child welfare, and with various kinds of relief, find the load of the Spanish-speaking people proportionately greater than that of the general population. While such loads are not so heavy in rural areas, during the depression years most of the Spanish-speaking people in some regions, both urban and rural, were thrown on relief, either direct or indirect.

International Aspects. Just before and during the Second World War, the country became keenly aware of the international aspects of the situation of the Spanish-speaking people in the United States, which had been but vaguely felt by a few previously. It was necessary at that time to place large reliance on friendly relations with the nations of Latin America, and one obstacle to such relations was found to be the critical attitudes of the peoples of those countries toward the United States owing to discriminatory treatment of Latin Americans in the United States.

It became national policy supported by the states especially concerned to alleviate in every possible way the worst conditions found involving Spanish-speaking people, and beginnings were made in the direction of greater tolerance and better understanding. Since, however, the problem had not then been carefully studied and was poorly understood, there were few guides to action, and a necessary preliminary to effective programs was to conduct research. It was in this preliminary work that many of the organizations now active became established, to receive new impetus from returning Spanish Americans from service in the armed forces. Especially the fact that Spanish Americans made up a large proportion of the forces trapped at Bataan in the Philippines tended to increase sympathy and respect for the entire Spanish-speaking group.

Organizations. There are a number of organizations, some local, others statewide or regional in scope, which have concerned themselves with the adjustment problems of the Spanish-speaking people, their greatest recent activity having been in Texas. Chief among the regional bodies has been the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULACS) whose membership is composed of Latin Americans. Regional labor organizations, including the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the National Farm Labor Union, have sporadically and locally interested themselves in specific aspects of the problems. In some places, especially in Texas communities, returned Spanish-speaking veterans have set up their own chapters and posts of veterans' organizations and have used them to campaign actively, especially for civil rights.

For a number of years Texas has had a semiofficial organization known as the Texas Good Neighbor Commission, and more recently there has been added the Council for the Study of Human Relations, both of which organizations are primarily concerned with improving relations between the English- and the Spanish-speaking peoples of that state.

A few years ago a regional organization of educators and others interested in the problem formed a voluntary association, the Southwest Council on Education of Spanish Speaking People, which has served as a regional clearinghouse for problems and programs of the area, as well as to stimulate study and action programs in connection with discriminatory practices.

In Arizona the Council for Civic Unity has served something of the same function as the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas.

During the depression years, the Division of Human Surveys of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service spearheaded both research and activity to protect the interests of the rural Spanish-speaking people of the Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico and Colorado after attention had been called to them by the heavy relief load which fell upon various Federal agencies in that portion of the valley.

In New Mexico, more than in other states, the situation of the Spanish-speaking people has been a concern of political parties because of the large vote which that element represented, capable often of bringing victory or defeat at the polls.

Generally, the Spanish-speaking people have been difficult to organize, even where their own group interests have been at stake, and sustained organized activity calls for a great expenditure of organizational and promotional effort. This fact is in part due to the traditional adequacy of the community and familial organization in the group which had, under earlier circumstances, proved adequate for all ordinary purposes.

SUMMARY

There are about 3.5 million Spanish-speaking people in the United States, but since adequate statistics are lacking, the number cannot be known with certainty. They are mainly concentrated in a few states of the American Southwest, although in recent years considerable colonies of them have developed in Chicago, Detroit, New York, and other industrial cities.

A part of the group is made up of descendants of early settlers in what is now the American Southwest at the time it was a part of the Spanish Empire or the early Mexican Republic. Another large segment is made up of recent immigrants or descendants of recent immigrants from Latin-American countries, chiefly Mexico. A third considerable part of the group is composed of illegal entrants from Mexico who are in this country illicitly, seeking farm and other employment.

In each of the southwestern states, the problem of the Spanish-speaking people is somewhat different from what it is in others. Texas, with about one-seventh of its population made up of Spanish-speaking people, has been the scene of greatest recent activity by various organizations in behalf of this underprivileged people. In New Mexico, where about 40 per cent of the population is Spanish-speaking, the fact of their political voting power has given them strength and protection in some regards that they have lacked elsewhere. In California the large urban Mexican population of Los Angeles and other southern California cities has presented somewhat different problems.

Generalizing about the Spanish-speaking people of the country but allowing for numerous exceptions, they are separated from the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture by a wide gulf of differences, most obvious in such aspects as language and religion, and in some cases aggravated by strong feelings of nationalism. The group almost in its entirety lives at a low level of poverty. The general picture of poverty is intensified by such special groups as the "wetbacks," or illegal entrants, and the migratory farm laborers.

The Spanish-speaking people present special educational problems which have as yet to be adequately met. In most cases, whether urban or rural, they present special problems of health and constitute heavy loads on various public relief agencies.

The effects of two world wars have been to solidify the Spanish-speaking people in their efforts to improve their conditions and to elicit greater attention and sympathy from many English-speaking people. There are now numerous organizations with deliberate programs for protection of their civil rights and betterment of their educational and economic situations.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How many Spanish-speaking people are there in the United States?
2. Where, principally, are they located?
3. What is the racial composition of the group?
4. What problems of cultural adjustment have they presented?
5. Who are the "wetbacks," and what special problems do they present?
6. How do the "native" Spanish-speaking people differ from more recent immigrants?

7. How does urbanization affect the adjustment problems of the Spanish-speaking people?
8. What has been the source of recent immigrations of these people?
9. In what way has nationalism entered into their situation in this country?
10. Have the World Wars affected their status in the United States? Explain.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Burris, Quincey Guy, "Latin Americans," in Francis J. Brown and J. S. Roucek, *One America,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1945.

Gamio, Manuel, *Mexican Immigration to the United States,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930.

Kibbe, Pauline R., *Latin Americans in Texas,* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1946.

McWilliams, Carey, *North from Mexico,* J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1949.

Sanchez, George I., *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans,* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1940.

Schermerhorn, R. A., *These Our People,* D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1949, Chap. IX.

Tuck, Ruth, *Not with the Fist; Mexican-Americans in a Southern City,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1946.

CHAPTER 18

THE JEWS AND ANTI-SEMITISM

THERE ARE JEWS in every part of the world, and everywhere they are recognized and recognize themselves as a people somewhat apart from those among whom they live. There are more Jews in the United States than in any other country—over 5 million of a world total of 12 million—and their number is growing despite the stoppage of large-scale immigration from Europe. Their numerical growth is probably less rapid than that of the total population of the country. In the United States they live in every state and every community, but the great concentration is in the larger cities, especially New York City which has a larger Jewish population than any other city of the world. The Jews of the United States represent the greatest concentration of Jewish wealth in the world and, since they have freedom of expression and organization, they play an important part in those aspects of world affairs in which Jews are involved. This has been notable in the case of the Zionist movement as well as in connection with problems of the welfare of Jewish minorities in various European countries.

THE PROBLEM

In the United States there is a Jewish problem which shows the extreme complexity which may arise where racial, cultural, and other considerations become confused in the adjustment of ethnic groups. So confused is the Jewish problem in the United States that the literature concerning it abounds in contradictions which extend, often, into the assumptions upon which the many "scientific" studies of the problem have been based. At no level, from the most detached scientific to the most impassioned special pleadings, is there precise agreement as to the nature of this problem.

Complexities. Some of the factors which enter in subtle ways into the problem of Jewish adjustment and maladjustment in the American scene have been strikingly stated by Faris: [1]

> The conflict between Jews everywhere and those among whom they live is a racial conflict. That the Jews belong to a separate biological race is doubtful

---

[1] Ellsworth Faris, *The Nature of Human Nature*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1937, pp. 341–342.

> and perhaps is not true. Nevertheless the conflict is sociologically racial, for they are regarded as a separate race, and hold themselves together as if they were a separate race. Racial conflict may exist by itself, when the religion of the two races is the same, as among Negroes and the whites in America, or religious conflict may exist without racial differentiation; but when the two come together, and two groups differ both in race and in religion, the intensity of the conflict is increased. The Jews are therefore the objects of attention on two counts—race and religion—and growing out of these two there is a third difference, that of culture. And when a group highly conscious of itself is conspicuous, and numerous to the number of several million, differing in religion, culture, and race, it would seem easy to assume that conflict would arise. Add to these factors the competition for status and for economic opportunity of the alien minority and their own determination to be separate and unmixed, preserving a foreign culture of their own, and the essential conditions for anti-Semitic conflict may be assumed to be present. Whether the Jews live in the city or in the country or preponderantly in one or the other seems to have little relevance. Whether they engage in manufacture or business or banking, or whether they enter professions or become owners of moving pictures or writers of books seems to make little difference. What is important is that they compete with the majority either for status or for monetary advantage; and prejudice against them is the result of the social order in its efforts to resist unwelcome change. The fact that the Jews have historically been money lenders or merchants is seen to be of minor importance considering the fact that there is widespread discrimination against Jews in academic life, even extending to the excluding of Jewish students from medical and other schools.
>
> For it must not be forgotten that social attitudes, particularly collective social attitudes, are not limited to the occasions which call them forth. Once the attitude has been established in a given society, it may persist long after the actual occasion which gave rise to it. The attitude of hostility toward the Jewish race is against a group which is not really a race at all, and it arose in historic times long ago. Nevertheless the attitude persists and seems to be perennial. The self-conscious group is opposed. The opposition increases the self-consciousness, and the increased self-consciousness in turn makes greater the opposition. And so the vicious cycle proceeds.

While some parts of this statement might be questioned, on the whole it does give a realistic summary of the numerous factors involved in the Jewish problem.

Trends. Whether the Jewish problem in this country is becoming more acute or approaching solution is difficult to ascertain, and opinions in this regard differ greatly. Certainly there is now greater awareness of the problem as a social problem than ever before if one may judge by the voluminous literature, the numerous organized movements, and other phenomena which center in it.

The establishment of quota controls over immigration in the 1920's has had much to do with stabilizing the situation, and there are evidences both of defections from the Jewish community of large numbers of younger members, as well as of assimilation by intermarriage. The interchurch movement of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews has probably reduced some of the religious antagonisms which have characterized relations of Jews with others. Yet there are everywhere intermittent indications in both overt and covert behavior of individuals and groups that tensions remain.

Regarding the intermarriage of Jews one limited study made in a single eastern community resulted in these findings: [2]

> Generalizations concerning an ever-increasing rate of Jewish intermarriage in America are not substantiated by comparative analysis of the facts available here and abroad. Jewish intermarriage does not necessarily adhere to a pattern of increasing incidence. It varies in time and place according to the fluctuations of social conditions.
>
> There is endogamous strength in numbers. However, unlike some other small religious groups in Derby, such as the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics, the Jewish rate of intermarriage has been low. The explanations to account for this discrepancy are the following:
>
> 1. The Jews are heavily concentrated in the merchant and professional economic classes, whereas the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics are recent immigrants from peasant Europe and unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. A higher economic status provides the Jews with horizontal mobility to the larger neighboring Jewish communities, permitting them to overcome the handicap of small numbers.
> 2. The longer, more varied history of migration by the Jews and their centuries of existence as a minority in the proximity of gentile majorities enabled them to develop attitudes and techniques of intermarriage resistance long before their arrival in America.

Although this study was limited to one small Connecticut city, its results indicate the resistance to amalgamation characteristic of at least a segment of the Jewish population.

At best it may be said, in so far as factual knowledge is available, that trends are ambiguous and often appear to be contradictory as they bear upon the problem of the Jews and anti-Semitism. Such clues to trends as exist may better be seen in the perspective of the historical background of the Jews in America.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Jews made their first appearance in what is now the United States early in colonial history. The first ones to come in considerable numbers relative to the population of the colonies were mainly Sephardic Jews fleeing the inquisition in Portugal and Spain and in the Latin-American countries. The Sephardic Jews were aristocratic, and although they at first remained somewhat aloof, in time most of them were assimilated into the general population. Other Jewish refugees from Europe came in small numbers to the colonies where they met with general tolerance, although in a few instances they aroused suspicion and were met with open hostility. No Jewish problem of consequence arose during the American colonial period, while the volume of Jewish immigration grew steadily until it reached an early peak in 1815 after which, for a time, it fell off.

---

[2] Milton L. Barron, "The Incidence of Jewish Intermarriage in Europe and America," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 2, 1946, p. 13.

The Old Immigration. Larger numbers, both actually and comparatively, came with the Old immigration into the new nation of the United States when it was expanding westward. First from Holland and England and later chiefly from the German states, these Jews had the characteristics common to most of the Old immigration, including cultural similarities to the general population of the new country. The wave of revolutions in Europe from 1848 to 1877 stimulated the volume of Jewish immigration, and by 1880 it was estimated that there were 230,000 Jews in the United States.

Although the Jews have not had a common homeland for almost two thousand years, they succeeded in maintaining their cultural forms and developing them to a high state in the various European countries before coming to the United States. They were severely restricted and discriminated against in most of Europe, although the eighteenth century saw the beginning of a movement to give them full legal and political rights. The Jews coming to the United States up to 1880 were largely of western and central Europe, where the equalization process was under way. Their tendency upon arriving in this country was to distribute themselves widely and to take full advantage of all the cultural and economic opportunities. This led to amalgamation and integration of some of them and they ceased being Jews. For the rest the religious values were held so dearly that they did not cease being Jews, even though they tried to become integrated into the dominant American cultural forms in every other respect. During most of the long period up to 1880 there was very little discrimination against them, and consequently they felt no need to react and deliberately build up a strong group spirit. The religious reform movement, which began around the middle of the nineteenth century, and gradually encompassed a large proportion of the Jews who had migrated from Germany, further integrated them into dominant American forms, since it released them from the separatist religious injunctions, such as not working on Saturday, eating especially prepared food, and so on.

The migration from eastern Europe, which became numerically significant after 1880, created a new condition. Russia had not even begun to give the Jews equal economic, legal, and political rights, and consequently the Jews under Russian domination had lived in separate ghettos. There they had de-

> veloped their own cultural forms, and had existed almost as a nation within a nation. When the eastern European Jews came to the United States they had the expectation of continuing their separate cultural existence, even though they expected to improve their legal and economic status. . . .[3]

The New Immigration Jews. In so far as the present Jewish problem in the United States is concerned, it is related mainly to the later Jewish immigration as described above. This later immigration was made up of people far different from the early Jewish immigrants, as well as more different from the people of the United States generally. It contained a much larger proportion of Jews coming from segments of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, Poland, Russia, and the Balkans, speaking strange languages and dialects, dressing in queer clothing, and having mannerisms which gave them high social visibility. All these traits tended to persist through the first generation of immigrants, and some of them through later generations.

The New immigration, as previously noted, grew yearly in numbers until it reached a peak in the first decade of the present century. It is estimated that between 1899 and 1914 a million and a half Jews entered the United States from Europe. The sheer numbers as well as the visible characteristics of the immigrants brought about the reactions in this country which led first to selective laws covering immigration, and eventually to the quota scheme of controls. The quota laws sharply reduced the volume of Jewish and other immigration; it is estimated that from 1925 to 1933 not more than 10,000 Jews entered the country on an average each year. However, during the New immigration not only had the type of immigrant changed, culturally, but conditions in the United States were also changing.

> Meanwhile many social and economic changes were occurring in the United States. The government no longer had free land in the west to open up to settlers; the country was being rapidly industrialized, bringing in its train a series of depressions—in 1873, 1884, 1893, 1907, 1921, 1929. Moreover, as a result of the growth of large corporations and chain stores, the opportunities for independent, small business were being cut down. The union movement grew rapidly, and a struggle began between management and labor for control of the government.
>
> All of these developments resulted in a situation in which racial, religious, and nationalist hatreds could be used by various groups to maintain their established positions, just as these hatreds had been employed to that end in European countries.

---

[3] Arnold Rose and Caroline Rose, *America Divided,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1948, p. 196.

When unemployment and hard times made many people feel insecure and discontented, various minority groups were singled out for attack. In some sections of the country, the immigrants were accused of taking away jobs of Americans. In some sections the discontent was directed against the Negro, in some against the Chinese and Japanese; in still others against Mexicans, Hungarians, Poles—whatever group could be used as a "bogyman" with which to frighten people. The Jews were also attacked.

First and second generation American Jews soon began to feel the effects of the propaganda campaigns against them. They were called "hyphenated Americans" for being interested in the customs and culture of their Old World origins and in the welfare of their fellow Jews in these lands. Foreign sounding names became, for sensitive children of immigrant families, a source of embarrassment. Jews and non-Jews began to change their names, to make them more American sounding. Many Jews and non-Jews turned away from the cultural interests of their parents and grandparents altogether, in their eagerness to become as American as possible.[4]

Recent History. Since the quota laws have reduced the volume of European immigration, several important series of events have affected the Jewish problem in this country to some extent. The first of these was the depression of the 1930's which gave rise to numerous anti-Semitic movements in the country and saw the emergence of a number of demagogues with loud anti-Semitic views. During this period the rising anti-Semitism was linked with other movements such as the anti-Negro which swept sections of the nation. These movements represented efforts to find "scapegoats" for a complex of unfavorable conditions which were connected with the depression.

While it is easy to see the correlation between the business cycle phases and the tendency to use minority groups as scapegoats, the matter can be oversimplified. Although it was during the depression years that anti-Semitism reached an apex in this country, it is also well to note that there were forerunners of this scapegoatism all during the prosperous 1920's. It was during that period that Henry Ford, through the *Dearborn Independent,* made his notable attacks upon Jews and Jewry, charging an international conspiracy and attempting to link the Jews with the rise of communism. Similar have been the rise and popularity of demagogues during the 1940's, some of them using anti-Semitism as a part of their popular appeal.

After the depth of the depression, the next series of significant events were the results of the rise of the Nazis to power in Germany with the accompanying cruel discriminations against and treatment of the Jewish

---

[4] Solomon Landman and Benjamin Efron, *Story without End,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1949, pp. 256–257.

minority in that country. These events, as watched from this country, brought a new feeling of group solidarity to the American Jews and mixed feelings in the United States toward the Jews. The extremes of Hitlerism stood as a shocking object lesson and brought about a revival of American idealism which affected large segments of the people of this country; at the same time, a wave of near Fascism could be discerned among others, and in it was a tincture of almost fanatical hatred for Jews.

Refugees. One by-product of the rise of the Nazis in Germany was a new wave of refugee immigration, including many Jews, from that country. Just after the First World War there had been some Jewish migration from Austria and Germany to the United States, but under the threat of Hitlerism this immigration grew rapidly after 1933 until it reached a new peak in the period 1937 to 1939. While the Jewish immigration had dwindled to a few thousand a year before 1933, from that year until 1941, when the Second World War intervened, Jewish immigration from Europe averaged about 20,000 a year, most of the arrivals being refugees from Germany or German-dominated areas.

The new refugee movement differed from previous Jewish immigrations, in that those who constituted the migrating group belonged to older age groups, a large proportion more than fifty years of age, as contrasted with the comparative youth of earlier migrations. The new refugees, for the most part, came from higher economic levels than previous migrants, even though they were able to bring but little of their wealth with them because of Nazi regulations. They also contained a larger proportion of professional people, such as physicians and college professors.

The new type of immigrant was also of a less religious group of Jews, a group more secularized and cosmopolitan in its viewpoints. While they were able, because of these attributes, to make a relatively easy reorientation, they also created new problems of adjustment and brought to the surface new areas of anti-Semitism among those with whom they became potential competitors, especially in the professional fields.

Next came the American entry into and participation in the Second World War, which had many and varying effects upon the Jewish people. In some ways discrimination was increased, while in others it declined in the common preoccupation of the country with its grave problems of survival and the need for gaining victory.

Since the war the culmination of the Zionist movement in the establishment of an independent nation in Palestine brought division among the Jews themselves and, in general, sympathy for the Jews and their nationalistic aspirations in this country. At the same time the fear of communism as a domestic threat brought about a tendency to associate the Jews with radicalism in the writings and thinking of many Americans. This represented something of a revival of anti-Semitism.

Thus, historically, it can be seen that anti-Semitism grows and wanes with changes in conditions and events, but throughout there remains a residue which persists even when outwardly the general feeling is one of tolerance.

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

Because prejudice is often covert and may vary even in a single person from time to time and from occasion to occasion, it is impossible to state with precision the extent to which anti-Semitism exists in the United States. Efforts have been made at quantitative study, and as far as they go, they are somewhat revealing. One such study described in a recent book says: [5]

> In total, about one-fourth of adult Denverites are almost free from anti-Semitic views, about one-half display a little prejudice in certain areas, and the final quarter can be classified as strongly anti-Semitic. In other words, there is a definite anti-Semitic problem in Denver. The fact that four other cities—Roanoke, Virginia; Dayton, Ohio; Worcester, Massachusetts; and Bridgeport, Connecticut—had a more serious problem on the basis of the same scale used in this survey indicates that the problem is nation-wide in scope. Such a situation might be expected from general observation. Now let us pin-point the matter.
>
> The more education a man has, the less anti-Semitism he is apt to show. However, college women were found to be more prejudiced than women with high school education only. "It would be going too far on the basis of these results to claim that the type of college education many women get increased anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, it can certainly be said that it is not doing enough to decrease it." . . .
>
> Who, specifically, are anti-Semitic? "Common sense" might tell some of the following answers, but it is extremely doubtful if even an exceptionally well informed legislator would know for certain that in Denver: the middle economic group contains the highest percentage of strong anti-Semites, the lower economic level next, and the upper economic level least; anti-Semites are old, with people in the twenties only half as often strongly anti-Semitic as those fifty or over; anti-Semites are found most often among service workers (domestic servants, cooks, waiters, barbers and beauticians, models, policemen and firemen, janitors and porters, and members of the armed forces) and their wives; and the unprejudiced person is apt to be young, college-educated, a professional worker, and a member of the upper economic class.

The study from which these comments were drawn was made by the Public Opinion Institute of the University of Denver, and while it contains

---

[5] Frederick C. Irion, *Public Opinion and Propaganda,* The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1950, p. 510.

obvious weaknesses, especially in interpretation of the data, it does serve to indicate clearly that anti-Semitism is general and widespread and that it is a matter of numerous differentials as far as various segments of the population are concerned. It is probable that subtle aspects of anti-Semitism which cannot be measured by crude methods available are even more widespread than are the more obvious and overt ones.

FACTORS INVOLVED

The analysis of anti-Semitism has been undertaken by many persons, both social scientists and laymen. While they tend to disagree in emphasis, they do provide suggestions for further analysis. One aspect of the problem, and by some considered the chief one, is the religious. This is borne out by the close linkage often existing between anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism. It is probable, however, that with the general decline of religious influence, this phase has become less significant than some others.

Ethnic Aspects. The racial aspects persist despite general agreement among social scientists that the Jews do not constitute a race in the scientific meaning of the term. The idea of race is reflected in the notion of many that they can "always tell a Jew" by obvious physiological stigmata. More realistic, although less generally recognized, is the cultural aspect. Of course such obvious cultural characteristics as the use of Yiddish dialect in the ghettos of some cities and the preference for kosher foods are factors. But also included, and probably of more general importance, are small mannerisms and expressed attitudes of many Jews, partly cultural in origin and partly a by-product of cultural marginality. The cultural aspect is reflected in the behavior of the dominant non-Jewish group as well as in such matters as social stratification and segregation. Dr. Jessie Bernard comments: [6]

> Moreover it is especially important to remember that culture conflict is not personal. Individual Jews and non-Jews, as people, often like each other very much. It is not a clash of personalities. The conflict is one of customs, mores, values, and other cultural norms, not of individuals. The application of these principles will become clear as we proceed with our analysis.
>
> The cultural conflict between Jews and non-Jews is complicated by another kind of conflict: one involving class differences. Socially the Jews resemble such religious bodies as Presbyterians and the traditionally aristocratic bodies such as Episcopalians and Congregationalists—middle- and upper-class groups. The proportion of Jews listed as upper class—22 per cent—compares with an identical figure for Presbyterians, and with 24 per cent for Episcopalians and Con-

---

[6] *American Community Behavior,* The Dryden Press, Inc., New York, 1949, pp. 388–389.

gregationalists—in contrast with 8 and 9 per cent, respectively, for Baptists and Catholics. Jews, furthermore, are also an educated group (63 per cent having had at least a high school education and 16 per cent being college graduates). Here again they resemble Presbyterians (63 per cent with at least a high school education, 22 per cent college graduates), Episcopalians (65 and 22 per cent), and Congregationalists (71 and 21 per cent) rather than Baptists (35 and 6 per cent) or Catholics (43 and 7 per cent). Occupational structures show the same resemblance—36 per cent among Jews being in business and professional occupations, as compared with 31, 32, and 33 per cent among Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Congregationalists, respectively, and as contrasted with 12 and 14 per cent for Baptists and Catholics.

. . . we note that access to upper-class status demands a proper class lineage. Most Jews do not have that. They are usually only one or two generations removed from immigrant status. They have climbed the social ladder rapidly but they have not had time to achieve class lineage and all the prestige that accompanies it. Thus a good deal of what passes for anti-Semitism, especially in the higher realms, is simply an exaggerated and magnified version of an identical behavior pattern towards non-Jews.

The specific foci of conflict between Jews and non-Jews vary, thus, from class to class, in some cases being primarily economic—that is, buyer-seller conflict, in other cases social or class, and in still others political. Each has to be analyzed separately. "Anti-Semitism" and its converse, "anti-gentileism," are blanket terms which are meaningless unless broken down into their specific constituent phases and aspects.

The Chosen People. One such constituent element lies in the tradition among the Jews, having religious sanction, that they are the "chosen people" of the Lord. Judaism is an ethnocentrically biased religion by comparison with other great religions of the world, as reflected in their refusal to proselytize among non-Jews. There are some converts to Judaism, but large-scale conversion, as it is a part of the militant programs of Christianity and Mohammedanism, is no part of the program of Jewish religion. Their religion rejects the Christian Messiah and looks to the future for its Messiah, whose significance is nationalistic, that is, tied in with the dream of an eventual Jewish homeland, as well as religious.

The Jewish religious community contains several parts which are in disagreement and often in conflict with each other. The rise of industrialism has made it difficult for the Jews, living in Christian-dominated areas, to adjust their strict religious practices to the requirements of business and other work activities. Some of the early German Jews brought with them from Europe the Reformed synagogue, which represented one type of adjustment to modern realities, in that it was based upon the notion that the Torah, or Jewish religious law, need not be interpreted literally, and that Jews might, with religious propriety, avoid many proscriptions which were inconsistent with the requirements of the everyday world in which they lived. Thus the observance of Saturday as the Sabbath, the use of Hebrew as the sole language of the religious community, the strict dietary laws, and the elaborate ritualism were largely done away with. The later eastern European Jews were much more likely to remain Orthodox and founded Orthodox religious communities in the United States, with much closer adherence to Jewish religious law and traditional practices and beliefs.

There were many among the early German and later eastern European immigrant Jews who felt the Reformed church had gone too far in moving away from adherence to religious law and tradition, and yet that the Orthodox strict adherence was not suited to the adaptations which needed to be made in the American scene. This led to the establishment of a third synagogue, the Conservative, which is largely a compromise between the other two.

Most Jews in this country belong to or have descended from the New immigration, and of the 3,000 or more synagogues in this country, the majority are Orthodox, while about one-third are divided almost evenly between Reformed and Conservative congregations. The Orthodox and, to a lesser extent, the Conservative Jews remain largely bicultural in that the Hebrew language is retained as the language of religion and theological scholarship, and the communities tend to remain endogamous and to cling to ancient Jewish folkways and mores.

Zionism. Another type of Jew in this country includes considerable numbers who turn from their religion, often to become atheists, or in some cases, Christian converts. Many of these Jews, while not Jewish in religion, nevertheless recognize themselves as a part of the Jewish community. The effective tie for considerable numbers lies in nationalistic sentiments as exemplified in the Zionist movement.

Zionism was largely rejected by Reformed Jews, whose congregations include a large part of the well-to-do segment of Jewry, on the ground that Jews would better concentrate on adapting to the countries in which they lived than seek a separate homeland. It is chiefly in the Orthodox communities that Zionism has had strength, and to a lesser extent in the Conservative Jewish congregations. There are several Zionist organizations in the United States, and their total membership is about a half million.

Zionism has long had its chief strength in eastern Europe where treatment of the Jews remained harsh and intolerant long after western Europe had ceded many rights and privileges to the Jews. It has had as its traditional goal the now realized one of setting up a Jewish state in Palestine. The supporting ideology has been that the Jews will never gain a place of complete respect in a world largely dominated by nationalism until they have their own nation and homeland; an aspiration supported, of course, by the religious prophecies of their sacred books.

Polls have indicated that most Jews of the United States, perhaps as many as four out of five, believe in Zionism, while a much smaller proportion, but an influential one, have opposed the movement. While the movement has a strong secular element, it ties in closely, as do Jewish religion and Jewish culture, with the notion of a "chosen people" which has contributed to anti-Semitism in the United States as elsewhere.

Economic Aspects. Both in former European homelands and in the United States today, the Jewish problem is so bound with economic conditions and competition that this phase needs, and has had, much special consideration. The extent and intensity of anti-Semitism, at least in its more obvious aspects, appear to correlate closely with the business cycle, becoming more extreme in times of depression and less so in times of relative prosperity. The Jews tend to rise rapidly in the economic scale and to cluster mainly in a few occupational fields. So much has popular thinking been impressed by their economic activities and characteristics that the term "Jew" has become one of disparagement to be applied to persons who are disliked for their business and financial attitudes and ways. Much of the folklore which has grown up about Jews and their supposed economic practices is pure myth, yet it has strong influence on the attitudes of many people who accept it uncritically. The situation has been summed up by one writer: [7]

> Just as Jewish businesses are marginal, so Jews constitute a marginal class in America. In socio-economic terms, they are the middle of the middle class. The trading group among them is almost three times larger than the national average; the professional group about twice the national average; while agriculture claims only about one per cent of the gainfully employed. There can be no doubt, therefore, that a large section of American Jewry is concentrated in the lower middle and upper middle classes. Furthermore, the Jews have come to occupy, as Jacob Lestchinsky has observed, "a redundant position between the Anglo-Saxon and other ethnic groups," particularly those which have not yet developed their own middle class. Thus the pattern of social discrimination clearly reflects an economic reality. While it has been impossible to subordinate Jews, in the sense that Negroes and Mexicans are subordinated, it has been possible to isolate them economically, or, to put it another way, to exclude them from key control positions in the economy. . . .

---

[7] Carey McWilliams, "Does Social Discrimination Really Matter?" reprinted in Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1949, p. 507.

Jews and Negroes. Some indication has been given of the parallels and differences between the problems of adjustment of Jews and those of the Negroes, and this is suggestive of the whole relationship of Jews to other minority groups. The marginal economic position of Jews and their spatial concentration, especially in New York, have brought them into close contact in business and related matters with members of other minorities, and with somewhat ambiguous results. Nowhere is this ambiguity in relationships more clearly to be seen than in relationships between the Negroes and the Jews. The Jewish intellectuals, notably liberal in viewpoint, have been consistent sympathizers with and champions of the rights of other minority groups in this country. Negroes have been both impressed and somewhat envious of the success of many Jews in the face of discrimination and other obstacles arising from hostile prejudices. At the same time, and recently, various observers have noted a rise in anti-Semitism among Negroes. Berry says: [8]

> Much of the Negro's anti-Semitism is essentially anti-white prejudice, for it so happens that in the urban North the Jew is the representative of the white race who comes into closest contact with the Negro. Ironically, as Rose points out, the fact that Jews are less prejudiced against Negroes than gentiles are makes them more willing to have business dealings with Negroes, and these relationships, in turn, give rise to suspicion and animosity. Jews, for instance, are not averse to renting residential properties to Negroes, or to serving as agents or collectors. Pawn shops owned and operated by Jews are a conspicuous feature of the urban Negro community. The Jew is often an employer of Negro labor, and Jewish merchants dominate the business of the Negro ghetto. Drake and Cayton found that in 1938 three-fourths of the merchants in Bronzeville, the Negro community in Chicago, were Jews, and Ottley reports a similar situation in Harlem. Formerly the urban Negro's contacts with whites were made through the Irish, whom they came to hate; and in New Orleans it was the Italians who served and exploited the Negro community. Recently, however, the Jew has assumed that role, and one result has been the increase of anti-Semitism among Negroes.

As sound as this analysis may be, there is undoubtedly strong pressure always for the Negroes to reflect the cultural attitudes of the dominant whites regardless of their actual experiences, and this probably leads to some inclination toward anti-Semitism when the larger community attitude has that bent.

ATTITUDES INVOLVED

As has been indicated repeatedly above, the Jewish problem involves sets of attitudes on both sides, so that it may be described both as anti-

---

[8] Brewton Berry, *Race Relations,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1951, p. 390.

Semitism and as anti-gentileism. The attitudes themselves give every evidence of being deep-seated both culturally and in large numbers of individuals, and they are variously rationalized at both the individual and the cultural level. It might be said of some of the studies which indicate social class distinctions and differentials among educational levels in the population that they probably do not separate the factors of verbal facility and sophistication in rationalizing from the attitudes which are inferred from the verbal expressions.

Stereotypes. Both a source of and a clue to attitudes are the widely held stereotypes of people involved in ethnic relations. In its main outlines, the stereotype of the Jew is well known, even though it presents variations from situation to situation and group to group. One study which attempts to analyze the content of the American stereotype of the Jew concludes: [9]

> An examination of the five most frequent Negro and the five most frequent Jewish stereotypes reveals strikingly different results, each set of which presents a more or less integrated pattern. The composite pattern of stereotypes about Jews does not stress personally "obnoxious" characteristics. In the main, they are presented in terms of a powerful, well-organized group which, by inference, threatens the subject.
>
> On the other hand the stereotypes about the Negro stress the individual, personally "offensive" characteristics of the Negro. As the stereotypes of the group characteristics of the Jews implied a threat to the values and well-being of the intolerant white, so, too, those about the Negro were used to describe a conception of the Negro as a threat, particularly because the Negro was "forcing out the whites."

These conclusions were drawn from an intensive study with a group of veterans as subjects. The emergent composite stereotype of the Jews as found in the study included these items: "They are clannish; they help one another"; "they have the money"; "they control everything (or have an urge to control everything)"; "they use underhanded or sharp business methods"; "they do not work; they do not do manual labor." By contrast, the revealed composite stereotype of the Negroes was made up of the following items: "they are sloppy, dirty, filthy"; "they depreciate property"; "they are taking over; they are forcing out the whites"; "they have low character; they are immoral and dishonest."

It is probable that other groups studied in other circumstances would reveal other stereotyped notions concerning Jews, and the prevailing stereotypes among the least tolerant probably include much more concrete notions as to the details of personal appearance and mannerisms. Certainly, the term "aggressive" or some similar term would appear frequently in a wider sample.

---

[9] Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, "Ethnic Tolerance: A Function of Social and Personal Control," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 40, 1949, p. 144.

Lack of Social Stigmata. One reason for the peculiar nature of the stereotype of the Jew as compared with that of most other ethnic groups and group members is the relative lack of social stigmata where the Jews are concerned. It cannot be said of them that they are lazy or shiftless, because prevailing opinions are to the contrary. They do not have, as an ethnic group, a high rate of criminality or delinquency. In familial relations they stand as models in the community, with relatively little divorce and a high degree of general family stability. They are not characterized by wife beating, illegitimacy, or sexual promiscuity. In intelligence they usually rank high, and in school situations are often exemplary as students. While many of them are in the lower economic strata, especially in larger cities, they have not constituted undue burdens on relief rolls; rather they tend to care for their own. And it is generally recognized that in the United States, and elsewhere as opportunities have been open to them, they have contributed their share or more to the prominent and successful—in business, science, the arts, law and medicine, and statecraft.

This, in the face of anti-Semitism, helps to throw critical light on the rationalizations so commonly employed to justify discriminatory treatment of other minority peoples in this country. Most ethnic groups in the country can be singled out as having been, at some stage of their adjustment, "problems" of legitimate concern, because of their presumed lawlessness, lack of ambition, or as burdens on community resources. The Jews, however, have also been subjects of unfavorable prejudice and discriminatory treatment although these excuses cannot be made in their case.

Restrictions and Discriminations. The attitudes and stereotypes of the non-Jews in the United States have overt expressions in many discriminations which are openly or quietly practiced. The more obvious are represented in preferences of employers in many cases for non-Jews, in residential area restrictions to be found in parts of most cities which attempt to exclude Jews, in the regulations of some fraternal and professional organizations which keep Jews from membership, and in some instances in the barring of Jews from hotels, apartment houses, and even from a few restaurants. Such open practices are probably less frequent now than they have been, and tend increasingly to be covert in their nature rather than open.

There is a strong undercurrent of subtle discrimination in spheres of "social" activity. Especially does this appear to be true in the very high levels of "society," but it may be found to some extent at all levels. Recently brought to the fore has been the practice of many colleges, universities, and professional schools of restricting the number of Jews admitted as students, and probably such practice is pursued covertly to a greater extent than is generally known. It grows partly from the high regard of Jews for learning which tends to bring them in disproportionately large numbers to the doors of institutions of higher learning.

Numerous Jewish organizations, as will be indicated later, have given much attention to discriminatory practices against Jews in recent years, and by publicity and otherwise they have been able to remove or lessen many of them.

Attitudes of Jews. As noted previously, the Jews in America are, in the main, a self-conscious group, and their attitudes toward themselves is an important part of the problem of anti-Semitism. They display sensitivity to prejudice and discrimination which leads them to anticipate unfavorable attitudes and conduct toward them. This is often interpreted as the cause of overcompensation in their behavior toward non-Jews. Their attitudes, however, are not uniform; they are not agreed in the diagnosis of their own adjustment problems nor on the best ways of meeting the problems.

> Limitations arising from Jews and Judaism, many of which have been suggested in preceding pages:
>
> 1. The vast majority of Jews, because they were among the last arrivals, bear the scars of European experience. Old World fears, suspicions, and inhibitions still victimize them.
> 2. The divisions among Jews make united thought and action well-nigh impossible.
> 3. The Jewish will to maintain the integrity of the group often prevents those free contacts and easy collaborations between themselves and non-Jews.
> 4. The influence of secular nationalism among Jews has intensified Jewish consciousness of difference and set it up as an end to be served in itself.
> 5. Ignorance among Jews of the liberal Christian position, or indifference to it.
> 6. The need for defense against anti-Semitism consumes a great part of the Jew's time and energy.[10]

Organizations. There are many organizations among the Jews which have as a part of their programs the improvement of cultural relationships with non-Jews and a fight against discriminations and prejudice. Their programs vary in method and degree of aggressiveness, and they have largely worked independently of each other, although now the National Community Relations Council seeks to coordinate and integrate their work.

---

[10] Morris S. Lazaron, *Common Ground,* Liveright Publishing Corp., New York, 1938, pp. 263–264.

Among the most active of these organizations is the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which engages largely in publishing materials designed to promote better intercultural relations. This organization cuts across the various strata and religious communities among the Jews in its membership and support.

The American Jewish Committee, an older organization, works quietly and uses an indirect approach to the problems of the Jews in this country. It is composed, largely, of the better-to-do Jews of the Reformed synagogue.

The American Jewish Congress, working through its Committee on Community Interrelations, draws support largely from the Orthodox and Conservative congregations and engages extensively in research designed to bring better understanding of the Jewish problem.

The Jewish Labor Committee, as the name implies, is concerned largely with employment discriminations and problems of Jews, and draws largely from the workers.

SUMMARY

The Jewish problem of the United States is a part of the world problem of the Jews, a separate group living in the midst of non-Jews in most areas. The size of the Jewish population in the United States, which has the largest Jewish population of any country, and the concentration of Jews in large urban centers and in relatively few occupational fields tend to aggravate the problem.

Although the Jews are not a race in the biological sense, both Jews and non-Jews are apt to consider them as one and to govern their attitudes and actions accordingly. Much more realistically, the Jews are a cultural and religious group, although in these regards there are important differences among the Jews themselves. The early large-scale Jewish immigration came mainly from western and central Europe, while the later waves of Jewish immigrants came from eastern and southeastern Europe. These more recent immigrants and their descendants now make up the larger part of the distinctively Jewish population of the country, and it is in them, mainly, that the Jewish problem of the United States centers.

The problems of adjustment of the Jews in the United States are multiple and complex. The various aspects include the religious and the economic, but there are also matters of class structure involved. The non-Jews, to a large extent, base their attitudes upon stereotypes of Jews, and the Jews are handicapped, in part, by their self-consciousness as a minority group, on the one hand, and their lack of unity as a group, on the other.

Most of the Jews in the United States have been sympathetic toward the nationalistic Zionist movement, which has brought them some unity, even among those who no longer adhere to the Jewish religious communities.

The anti-Semitism of the United States finds expression in a variety of discriminatory practices, some open, others covert and subtle, and ranging from occupational preferences to social "snubbing." A number of Jewish organizations in this country have programs designed to lessen discrimination and to improve relations of Jews and non-Jews.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. In what sense may the Jewish problem be said to be a racial problem?
2. What are the immigration backgrounds of the American Jews?
3. How many Jews are there in the United States as compared with other countries?
4. How does the stereotype of the Jew differ from that of other minorities?
5. What major divisions exist within the Jewish community?
6. What is meant by the "marginal position" of the Jews in business?
7. How has this marginal position affected the relations of Jews with other ethnic groups?
8. What are the trends in regard to the Jewish status in the United States?
9. In what ways do the Jews differ from most minority groups in this country?
10. The Jews are often described as bicultural. To what does this refer?

SUGGESTED READINGS

EDIDIN, BEN M., *Jewish Community Life in America,* Hebrew Publishing Company, New York, 1947.

GINZBERG, ELI, *Agenda for American Jews,* King's Crown Press, New York, 1950.

GRAEBER, ISACQUE, and S. H. BRITT, *Jews in a Gentile World: The Problem of Anti-Semitism,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1942.

JANOWSKY, OSCAR (ed.), *The American Jew: A Composite Portrait,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1942.

LANDMAN, SOLOMON, and BENJAMIN EFRON, *Story without End: An Informal History of the Jewish People,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1949.

MCWILLIAMS, CAREY, *A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America,* Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1948.

SAMUEL, MAURICE, *The Great Hatred,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1940.

SILCOX, C. E., and G. M. FISHER, *Catholics, Jews, and Protestants,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1934.

STEINBERG, RABBI MILTON, *A Partisan Guide to the Jewish Problem,* Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1945.

WIRTH, LOUIS, *The Ghetto,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928.

ZEITLIN, JOSEPH, *Disciples of the Wise: The Religious and Social Opinions of American Rabbis,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1945.

CHAPTER 19

ORIENTALS IN THE UNITED STATES

THE NUMBER of Orientals in the United States is not and has never been large by comparison with other racial and ethnic groups. It is at present considerably less than a half million, or approximately one-fourth of 1 per cent of the population of the country. Nevertheless, at times the controversy centering in this group or some subgroup within it has been out of all proportion to the quantitative fact, and in many ways the history of the relationships of the Orientals with other groups, and their differential treatment under law, has been revealing in connection with the study of ethnic relations generally.

Despite the smallness of their numbers, the Orientals have been a highly concentrated population element, having made their accommodations in the United States, as in Canada, chiefly on the Pacific Coast, where their presence has given rise to a succession of differing and contrasting reactions and has usually been a matter of heated controversy into which have entered many points of view and confusions of fact with myth, mingled with cynical self-interest.[1] Our first, and thus far only, exclusion laws have been related to Orientals as potential immigrants, and they have been subjected to laws barring their ownership of real property and prohibiting intermarriage and naturalization. While the argument has been raised against many recent immigrant groups that their members are lazy and inefficient and incapable of adjusting to the presumed self-reliant spirit of American life, just the opposite objections have been most commonly made against the Japanese and Chinese—that they excel in matters of industry, efficiency, and thrift and are, as a group and as individuals, too self-reliant. And the problems of Oriental immigration and its control have entered, both as cause and as effect, into more serious international complications than have those of other immigrant groups. Policies and attitudes toward Japanese immigration were a significant factor in our involvement in the Pacific phase of the Second World War.

The Orientals, chiefly the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos, at successive periods, were welcomed into the Pacific states and the United States, only later to be met with strong suspicion, then resentment and open hostility. This has been against a background of international relations in the Pacific in which we have, at times, insisted upon our rights as a nation to interfere in various ways in the affairs of China, Japan, and the Philippines. It was the United States which, through show of force, brought about the "open door" in Japan, demanded relatively free access and privileged status in China, while, from the time of the Spanish-American War to the close of the Second World War, the Philippine Islands have been under our political jurisdiction.

---

[1] The history and treatment of Orientals in Hawaii are treated in a previous chapter.

Behind the difficulties of adjustment of Orientals in this country have been numerous factors: their relatively high social visibility as racially distinct groups, their contrasting culture and, to us, unintelligible languages, their religions, and their extreme poverty coupled with their adjustment to that poverty. In the United States they have been largely segregated and have met with various discriminations which have either made assimilation virtually impossible or have greatly retarded the process. In fact, a strong argument by opponents of Oriental immigration has always been that the peoples of Asia are unassimilable. With their background of relatively high birth rates and potentials for rapid natural increase, there has been the persistent fear on the part of some Americans that immigration might turn into a racial tide which would engulf the Pacific fringe of the country, if not America. This fear has been shared by other countries, especially those of the British Commonwealth, in which Anglo-Saxon culture predominates.

> The arguments for the exclusion of the Mongol immigration in the U.S.A., and elsewhere, are partly based on the assertion that the Mongolian peoples have rates of fertility so high that even the allotment of a small immigration quota would eventually result in an uncontrollable increase in these groups. Their "effective fertility" has remained relatively high, although it must have been adversely affected by the prohibition of immigration. The number of children under five per thousand women aged 20–44 amounted, according to the 1930 U.S. Census, at 1,051 for Chinese and 824 for Japanese as compared with 481 for the white population. But there is some evidence that the trend of fertility of these immigrants is subject to the same environmental influences which we find operating with the immigrants from European countries with high fertility rates. It is most likely that the second and subsequent generations of these immigrants, on coming into contact with the American way of living, tend to limit very decidedly the size of their families.[2]

---

[2] Julius Isaac, *Economics of Immigration,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1947, p. 191.

This prediction has been borne out by birth-rate trends among Orientals in this country in recent years, although rapidly declining death rates have brought higher rates of natural increase in the countries of origin of the immigrants. There can be little doubt that growing population pressures in the Orient constitute a major problem for the entire world and one which is basic to recent and present strife in that part of the world.

While there are many similarities in the adjustment problems of all Oriental groups in this country, there are also significant differences which call for separate treatment for the three major groups: Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos.

THE CHINESE

Chronologically, the first of the three peoples to come to the United States in considerable numbers were the Chinese. At the time of the "gold rush" to central California in the middle of the past century, a few Chinese arrived at San Francisco and soon found their way to the gold fields where they fitted neatly into the scheme of things as menial laborers, willing to do the work that American gold seekers shunned. They came in increasing numbers in response to a felt need for workers, and at first, judging from contemporary writings, they were considered as odd but amiable and welcome. It was only later when they became active or potential competitors with whites in the early agricultural development of the region and in the growing cities of the West Coast that opposition to them began; and this opposition early led to discriminations of various kinds, and even to cases of violence directed at the Chinese. The Chinese virtually withdrew from agriculture and developed their own Chinatowns in San Francisco and other urban centers, which in some ways relieved, and in others aggravated, the suspicions and strong feelings against them. The building of the transcontinental railroads brought fresh demands for cheap and unskilled labor, and this resulted in a new influx of Chinese despite the growing opposition. Eventually, political pressure groups of the Pacific Coast were able to bring about the congressional enactment of the Exclusion law of 1882, which barred further immigration of Chinese until 1892. Before the law expired, it was renewed for another 10 years, and it then became, for 50 more years, the fixed policy of the Federal government. During the early stages of the Japanese invasion of China just before the Second World War, there developed a considerable feeling of sympathy toward the Chinese throughout the country and on the Pacific Coast. This was enhanced when we became allies of the Chinese during the war, and eventuated in 1943 in the passage of congressional legislation repealing the Exclusion Act and placing the Chinese under the general quota system with an annual quota of 100 immigrants.

Persisting Controversy. While the new legislation reflected the feeling of general tolerance in the country at the time of its enactment, that feeling was far from unanimous and has changed with changing involvements in Pacific international affairs since then. Even at the time the legislation was under consideration in the Congress, opinions, on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere, were divided, as was shown by the testimony offered in the committee hearings on the proposed bills. As an example of feeling favorable to admission of the Chinese, one of the resolutions before the committee said: [3]

> The board of managers of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, with extensive interests in the Orient and representing hundreds of thousands of American church members, urge immediate modification of the Oriental Exclusion Act to admit nationals of all cobelligerent and friendly countries, otherwise admissible, for the following reasons:
>
> 1. Because we believe discrimination based on color is inconsistent with the Christian viewpoint and with the high ideals of justice upon which our Nation is founded.
> 2. Because world-wide fear of discrimination based on race and color may imperil every major goal for which our Nation now struggles.
> 3. Because the repeal of the Exclusion Act would remove from the hands of our enemies one of their most powerful propaganda arguments against us.
> 4. Because such modification of the Exclusion Act will make unmistakably clear our firm faith in democracy and the "four freedoms," both at home and abroad.
> 5. Because the application of the quota principle would admit relatively few and not increase the total aliens admissible in any 1 year, and thus the American standard of living would be adequately protected. . . .

In smaller number, but equally insistent, communications came from those opposed to any alteration of the Exclusion Act, and summed up the continuing feeling of suspicion. An example of the opposition arguments was contained in a letter to the committee from the Regular Veterans Association: [4]

> The Regular Veterans Association has consistently opposed unessential immigration. We recall only too well, Mr. Chairman, that many of these

---

[3] *Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, Seventy-Eighth Congress, First Session, on H.R.* 1882 *and H.R.* 2309, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943, p. 264.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

immigrants became public charges during the depression and as a consequence were riding the relief rolls. For many years America has faced an acute employment problem; many jobs that could have been filled by native-born Americans were filled by immigrants and in many cases by aliens, and it is obvious that if we are to solve our employment problems, that it is essential that our labor market be drastically restricted and regulated to our fundamental economic structure.

We have no quarrel with our allies, the Chinese, nor do we believe that failure to enact these bills are, as some claim, going to result in that Nation's withdrawing from the war and, further, it is not believed this legislation, if enacted, would in any way aid our war effort.

Our immigration policies and treatment of aliens in the past is attested to by the fact that they have been permitted to enter our country and to organize themselves into subversive and disloyal groups.

I do not recall that the Chinese have done so, but the principle is the same and we must set a precedent at this time. Because we sympathize with the Chinese, it does not necessarily follow that they are in a class by themselves as concerns citizenship. Our police have had to contend with a number of tong wars and such wars are directly traceable to the fact that an uneducated type of Chinese immigrant was admitted who could not, in view of their ancient tradition, become reconciled to the fact that it was wrong to kill one another in violation of our laws.

Accommodation. The early accommodation problems of the Chinese in the United States had several aspects. One was occupational, arising from the need for making a living, since many lines of endeavor were closed to them when they became competitive with the dominant population groups, and it has been the policy of the Chinese, for the most part, to withdraw from such competitive fields. This was a contributing cause to the development of Chinatowns in cities where Chinese could be, as a group, as self-sufficient as possible. Many of them became small-scale merchants, catering to other Chinese primarily. Other occupational lines were Chinese restaurants serving "Chinese" food, Chinese hand laundries, and curio and antique shops serving those of the white group interested in such wares. Many Chinese entered domestic service and other low-paid occupations which demanded but little skill and in which there was little outside competition.

Another problem of accommodation arose from efforts of the Chinese to preserve in America their own culture as nearly as possible, by attempting to perpetuate the use of their language and religions, with their own rituals and observances, as well as what they could of their own strong familial system in which filial respect and veneration for elders were pronounced. In their Chinatowns they maintained strong protective organizations patterned somewhat on their communal organizations in China, some few of which operated on the fringe of the law or outside it and gave rise to the oft-exaggerated phenomenon of "tong wars."

A critical difficulty of accommodation of the early generations was the relative lack of women in their population in America, since the original immigrants had been chiefly males of the young active years. Coming from a culture in which not only was the family the principal cohesive element, but in which concubinage was regarded as a privilege of the well-to-do, the small number and proportion of Chinese women led to cultural distortions and frustrations for the immigrants. Many of the men worked and lived for the day when they would have accumulated sufficient money to return to China, either to live out the older years of their lives and die, or to marry and return again to America to found families.

With the passage of time, new generations replaced the old in the United States, with a more nearly even balance of the sexes and a lesser attachment for the traditional ways of the culture. The new generations advanced far more in the direction of assimilation, short of the rigid color line embedded in the mores of the dominant group and often in state laws forbidding intermarriage.

Schools and Acculturation. American schools and education have had much to do with the shaping of the American-born generations of Chinese, although they have not been able to solve all the problems involved. Efforts of young Chinese to reach satisfactory adjustments have meant both new accommodations to the general American scene and friction between the younger and older generations.

> The school not only introduces the young Chinese into the American world but also—through contacts with their school mates—develops in them a racial consciousness that tends to make them withdraw from associations with Americans and associate only with their own group in school and outside. There is increasing tension from grammar school to college. The higher the institution, the more the Chinese feel excluded. The American universities usually classify the American-born Chinese as foreign students; they must go through the advisory office for foreign students. Such experiences lead inevitably to disillusionment, which makes the Chinese pass through a period of emotional disturbance that is generally solved by a return to the Chinese community and its restraining influences.
>
> As a result of their American education, the American-born Chinese are becoming dissatisfied with their parents' social and economic status, which they are inclined to regard as the cause of the existing prejudice. Therefore, in order to become fused with the American group, they prepare themselves for some profession or skilled occupation which is respected by Americans. Here again they meet obstacles. In American society the "Chinaman" has his recognized and established place, which he must keep. Even the shaky, three-

legged stool of chop suey, laundry, and fan-tan can hardly be called a sound economic foundation. Again, the American-born Chinese feel discriminated against because of their race. On account of their physiognomy the average American reacts to them in the same way as he does to their parents, classifies them in the same group, and treats them as though they were aliens. Even though they prepare themselves for vocations where they might be on an equality with the American citizens, business firms offer them no opportunity to practice what they learn at school, and the Chinese community has no use for them since it does not have big business establishments. For this reason they prefer the professions by means of which they will not be dependent upon the whims of white employers. However, the professional field offers relatively few opportunities. The limited number of Chinese and their somewhat restricted wealth make it impossible to depend on only Chinese clients, while prejudice in American society and the competition of white colleagues prohibit a general and lucrative practice. Because of the colour line the teaching profession is practically closed to them. Indeed, the vocational entrance into the American group is very narrow. The steadily growing number of American-born Chinese with higher education makes the problem increasingly difficult.[5]

Decline of Chinatowns. The rise of a new generation and the changing of general conditions of American life have brought a steady decline of Chinatowns in recent decades. The existence and survival of such segregated and relatively self-sufficient communities have depended upon a host of service institutions serving considerable numbers of Chinese.[6] As Chinese have declined in numbers in some areas and have tended quite generally to disperse, although slowly, the support of Chinatowns in some cities has become inadequate. Even in cities of considerable Chinese population, such as San Francisco and Boston, other forces have been at work to bring about a change in the nature of Chinatowns and a weakening in their integration. Among these is the tendency toward encroachment and invasion by non-Chinese commercial and other institutions from outside, especially as real-estate values of Chinatown sites have risen. This has meant that increasingly the surviving Chinatowns have become vestigial, largely "quaint" places of attraction to tourists. Another increasing factor has been the invasion of Chinatowns by other racial and ethnic groups.

In part, the disintegration of Chinatowns has been a result of the growing tendency of the young Chinese to abandon the ways of their forebears and to seek, where possible, to detach themselves from the rigid controls and restraints of Chinese custom in order to participate more fully in the American way of living.

---

[5] B. Schrieke, *Alien Americans,* The Viking Press, Inc., New York, 1936, pp. 20–21.

[6] Rose Hum Lee, "The Decline of Chinatowns in the United States," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 14, No. 5, March, 1949, pp. 422–432.

THE JAPANESE

The Japanese immigration into the United States in significant numbers began later than that of the Chinese. The course of their acccommodations to American life has followed, in some ways, that of the Chinese except that they have been both aided and impeded in that course by their more aggressive attack upon the problem and have been especially handicapped by the fact that theirs was a powerful nation which was intermittently in conflict with the United States and eventually engaged in major warfare against this country.

Soon after the Chinese immigration was shut off by the Exclusion law, the number of Japanese coming into this country began to grow rapidly. It was both direct immigration from Japan and indirect immigration by way of Hawaii and other intermediate places. They were at first welcomed as efficient low-priced workers, willing to do types of labor which most Americans shunned, including, largely, domestic service. They also proved to be excellent and efficient workers on farms with their knowledge of and inclination for intensive agriculture. There soon grew up hostility and resentment against them, especially where they threatened to come into economic competition with Americans, and much the same arguments were raised against them as against the Chinese earlier. Discriminatory practices and laws, and eventually exclusion, followed in much the same pattern as had the reactions against the Chinese. All this was climaxed by the enforced removal of Japanese from their homes on the Pacific Coast as a security measure in the Second World War, and their eventual return as displaced persons. Throughout there has been a growing cleavage between the older generation Japanese in the country and the younger generations who increasingly must carry the burden of a still uneasy accommodation to the dominant culture.

Occupational Accommodation. The concentration of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast to an even greater extent than has been true of the Chinese made their small numbers bulk more largely in the occupational field than would otherwise have been the case. Their great efficiency in some types of endeavor, their industry and relative aggressiveness, all tended to attract attention to them as a socially visible group which presumably constituted a danger to the economic welfare of some whites.

> That the theory of unfair competition was never the real basis of opposition to the Japanese in California may be variously demonstrated. At the outset a large number of Japanese were employed as domestic servants. In California from 1900 to 1930, domestic service was essentially non-competitive employ-

ment. Even in this field, as Dr. Millis demonstrated, the higher wages paid the Japanese tended to raise, not lower, existing wage rates. In railroad construction, lumbering, and mining, the Japanese never constituted a serious threat to local American labor. In urban trade, the Japanese were confined, by reason of organized boycotts, largely to providing goods and services to their own people (who were frequently discriminated against in non-Japanese stores and service). Furthermore, as the Tolan committee reported, "the typical Japanese business is small, requiring a small capital investment, having a small volume of annual transactions, and directed by a single proprietor with the aid of his wife, or by two partners." Over a period of years, the amount of capital, but not the number of employees, tended to increase slightly. Over a period of years, also, Japanese stores began to be patronized by Mexican and Filipino customers; but accompanying this expansion of patronage the proportion of American-made goods in the stores increased. By and large, Little Tokyo never competed with Main Street.

In agriculture, the Japanese were originally used to replace, not displace, the Chinese as field workers. As Dr. Varden Fuller has demonstrated, they constituted a complementary source of labor supply. By 1910 wages paid Japanese farm workers were frequently higher than those paid other nationality groups. In this same year, the Labor Commissioner of California reported that "Japanese or some form of labor of a similar character, capable of independent subsistence, quick mobilization, submissive of instant dismissal and entailing no responsibility upon the employer for continuous employment, is absolutely necessary in California's orchard, vineyard, and field, if these vast industries are to be perpetuated and developed." (His report was promptly suppressed.) Not only were they deemed necessary for the expansion of California agriculture, but their presence as farm laborers tended to bolster up wages in nonagricultural types of employment.[7]

Restrictive Measures. The economic aspect, founded though it may have been in erroneous judgment as to the effect of the Japanese on occupational interests of Americans, especially in the Pacific Coast states, was only one of a number of complex considerations which entered into a growing anti-Japanese sentiment in those states, a sentiment which culminated in the "gentlemen's agreement" entered between the American and Japanese governments in 1907, and which became effective in 1908, strictly limiting Japanese migration to the United States, and more especially Japanese laborers.

The developing anti-Japanese movement is analyzed briefly in one book, as follows: [8]

---

[7] Carey McWilliams, *Brothers Under the Skin,* Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1943, pp. 157–159.

[8] Sidney L. Gulick, *American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1919, p. 22.

> An anti-Japanese movement has been developing in the United States leading to differential race legislation. It has taken acutest form in the California Anti-Alien Land Law. Without attempting to characterize this movement adequately I may describe it as a movement partly economic, implicitly confessing fear of Japanese superior efficiency; partly racial, expressing scorn, disdain, and arrogance at the ambition and success of a people "instinctively" felt to be essentially inferior; partly political, furnishing opportunity to certain individuals and political groups to gain personal and party advantage by appealing to selfish interest and race prejudice against sections of the community politically helpless; and partly natural and inevitable, arising from numberless mistakes, misunderstandings, and misdeeds of individuals of different race groups speaking different languages and acting under different customs, ideas, and ideals.

Later Developments. While the gentlemen's agreement appeared to be a working accommodation between two powerful governments to control the migratory flow, the anti-Japanese movement demanded even stronger measures. In 1921 the new general controls over immigration placed the Japanese on the excluded list, together with the Chinese and other Asiatics. This was strongly resented by the Japanese, not so much because of any material change in the situation but because it carried implications of racial inferiority against the Japanese, in their interpretation.

Feeling on the part of Americans in contact with the Japanese was intensified by the fact that Japanese law claimed as Japanese citizens all persons of Japanese ancestry regardless of place of birth. Despite closer adjustment to American ways, the Japanese found themselves, as a rule, no more acceptable to Americans. One authority described the situation: [9]

> Until the Japanese nationality law was modified in 1924, these American-born Japanese were subjected to dual nationality; this fact was made a cause of sinister attacks by anti-Japanese agitators, who, among other things, alleged that this dual nationality was taken advantage of by the Japanese parents to convert their children into loyal subjects of Japan by establishing and maintaining numerous Japanese language schools. We have examined in detail all the important facts relating to these schools and have failed to discover any evidence supporting this allegation. In fact, even if these schools function successfully, the work done in the schools is harmless from the American standpoint. On the whole, the schools have not been successful even in teaching the Japanese language to children, and English, their mother-tongue, remains the normal medium of expression. It is hoped that enough evidence has been shown to substantiate this conclusion.
>
> American-born Japanese manifest many interesting characteristics, physical, emotional, and mental. They are physically larger, taller, and heavier

---

[9] Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States,* Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1932, p. 341.

> than Japanese born and reared in Japan. Their body is proportioned more in accordance with the American type. What has caused these bodily changes in American-born Japanese we cannot definitely state; food, climatic conditions, mode of living, etc., are suggested as important factors. There are Americans and Japanese who recognize other minor changes in the physical make-up of these children which together tend to make them more handsome in appearance.

With the physical changes, other changes, parallel to those already noted in connection with the new American-born generations of Chinese, were taking place in the newer generations of Japanese—increased tendency to break away from the old Japanese cultural ways brought by their parents and grandparents to America, and efforts more closely to identify themselves with the American community—attempts which met with discriminations and rebuffs, difficult for the younger Japanese to understand. The mass evacuation from the Pacific Coast during the war added to their feeling of frustration. In the relocation centers, the rift between the generations was noticeable, but family solidarity in most cases stood the test of the strain. Increasingly, leadership and responsibility passed to the younger people.

Since Relocation. The disrupting experience of the relocation brought sympathy for the Japanese from some people, but also strong anti-Japanese sentiment far from the Pacific states, as there were suggestions that rural areas of other states should absorb some of the Japanese as farmers and farm workers. There remained the further readjustment problem for the Japanese of returning to their former Pacific Coast homes or dispersing anew among strangers in other parts of the country.

> Today the reestablishment of Japanese-American family units is still going on in the ghetto areas of the Pacific coast and some new ones in the Midwest. The circumstances of crowding are often far worse than in the centers, and the maladjustment is compounded by vicious exploitation, especially in-group exploitation by Japanese-Americans in regard to housing. Many families face disaster in their impoverished condition. The solidarity of the Japanese-American family has been well demonstrated during the last four years. However, the nisei [10] are now assuming the heavy burden of an aged issei population, and a large number of sansei. As a consequence, the structural integration of the Japanese-American family may well turn out to be quite disorganizing. The integrative tendencies reduce the freedom of movement and the capacity for independent choice and aggressive action of many younger persons who otherwise might be expected to make the most effective adjustments.[11]

---

[10] Nisei are the second-generation, American-born Japanese; issei, the first-generation, Japanese-born immigrants; and sansei, the third-generation children.

[11] Leonard Bloom, "Transitional Adjustments of Japanese-American Families to Relocation," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 12, No. 2, April, 1947, p. 209.

The war effectively broke up old accommodation patterns of the Japanese in the United States more than that of any other ethnic group, but with the close of the war there was a general tendency on their part to return as nearly as possible to the old accommodation. The most tangible evidence of the changes brought about was in the wider distribution of the Japanese-Americans over the country, and the relative isolation of small units of a family or a few families in the dominant population element.

THE FILIPINOS

The Philippine Islands were taken over by the United States in 1898 as a result of the Spanish-American War. It was not long before a steady flow of migrants to the Hawaiian Islands began, and then both directly but chiefly by way of Hawaii, into the United States proper. This stream was, in part, a result of the stoppage of Chinese immigration, and later of the immigration of Japanese laborers, and reflected the continuing demand on the Pacific Coast for cheap labor both in agriculture and in some urban occupations such as domestic service. The number of Philippine immigrants did not reach those of the earlier Chinese and Japanese immigrations, but again, because of their concentrations in a few areas of the Pacific states, they created problems out of proportion to their numbers. Although the Philippines were jurisdictionally a part of the United States, the status of the Filipinos in the United States was ambiguous, for they were not and could not become citizens if born in the Philippines. They had much the same social visibility and offered the same cultural contrasts as other Orientals. Their problem was especially aggravated by an extreme disbalance in sex ratio which tended to complicate problems of adjustment. They lacked the organization of the Chinese and the familial solidarity of the Japanese. As McWilliams said: [12]

> To see the problem in its entirety, the reverse aspects of the matter should be considered. The naturalization laws of the Philippine Islands are subject to control by American authorities [1943], at least for the time being. American citizens can enter the Philippines in any numbers, without restriction, and without being subject to any special penalties or discriminations. In 1939, some 8,639 Americans were living in the Philippines, most of them had business or professional interests there. Americans have invested about $258,000,000 in private industries in the islands and own some 63,000,000 acres of land. In other words, the record stands as follows: we induced upwards of 100,000 Filipinos to come to Hawaii and the mainland, forced them into a rigid caste system, and refused to grant them even the rights accorded nationals of other

---

[12] *Op. cit.*, pp. 244–245.

> countries. At the same time, as a nation we insist upon the privilege of unlimited and unrestricted emigration to the Philippines and our citizens there must be accorded the fullest protection and given unlimited rights to engage in trade and industry. No Filipino here can become an American citizen; but an American in the Philippines may become a citizen of the Philippines. (I am speaking, of course, of the pre-Pearl Harbor situation.) How long we continue to insist upon this sort of one-sided relationship, enjoying privileges which we deny to others, remains to be seen. Certainly in a general postwar settlement some consideration should be given to the problem of these 100,000 Filipinos in Hawaii and California. The very interests which, a few years ago, clamored for their deportation now beseech the federal government to release them from the Army so that they may work in the fields. They have fought for their and our interests in the Philippines; and they will also fight for us in Europe. . . .

Following the end of the war, the Filipinos resident in the United States and Hawaii who had served in the armed forces were granted American citizenship as a reward. Also the Philippines themselves were granted independence and autonomy under protection of the United States. The general plight of most of the Filipino Americans, however, has remained unchanged in any considerable degree.

Sex and Age Groupings. Normal life and adjustment depend upon balance among the various age groupings and the sexes, and such balance has been notably absent in the case of the Filipinos, who have also been barred from assimilation into the larger population of the United States and the communities in which they live in this country.

> This ratio between the sexes is important. The population figures for 1940 show that the males [Filipinos] outnumbered the females about 14 to 1. This unbalanced ratio creates many social problems relating to marriage, recreation, and the like. Such disproportion suggests a number of problems. In labor camps only young men live for months. This great preponderance of males and extensive lack of family life not only further migratoriness but promote restlessness, instability of personality, and abnormal social life. Despite these difficulties, the Filipino immigrant has maintained a relatively high standard of morals.
>
> The age range of Filipino immigrants is also important. For the most part they were young men between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five when they came. As the years have come and gone the age level has correspondingly advanced, for few young persons (or older, for that matter) have immigrated during the past fifteen years.
>
> In addition to lack of women, the life of the Filipino immigrant is decidedly abnormal because of the smaller number of children, the low percentage of persons in middle life, and the absence of older people. Although all these

factors mean absence of social restraints, the behavior record of this group of immigrants as a whole is good.[13]

Acculturation. To an even greater extent than has been generally true of the Chinese and Japanese, the Filipinos have adjusted to American life, to the extent that they have, at a relatively low economic level, and probably they are more subject to exploitation by employers and others because of their lack of group cohesion in the face of discriminatory practices. Like the children of Chinese and Japanese, those of Filipinos, relatively few in numbers, have become most acculturated in the public schools, but in the face of obstacles and problems similar to those of other Orientals on the West Coast.

> In the schools the Filipino students are confronted by social and racial problems. In the school rooms, for example, they find themselves total strangers among their American classmates, owing to problems arising from their lingual and racial backgrounds. Their peculiar accent, physiognomy, color, and modes of thought make them centers of curiosity. These facts naturally set them off as a distinct socio-cultural group and tend to block the development of "we feeling attitudes" with the American group.
>
> Many complain of having been diplomatically denied the opportunity of participating in school activities. Coeds seen with them on the campus become the targets of passing comments and finally are ostracized from their social circles. In the "social whirls" on the campus the Filipino participation usually ends uneventfully. They appear at a disadvantage among the talented, especially when sparkling and clever conversations are in progress.
>
> Furthermore, it is a common occurrence among the majority of the self-supporting students that because of the character and irregularity of their employments and their long hours of work they are at an academic disadvantage. Oftentimes they arrive late at school and attend classes with little or no preparation, which irregularities, when added to their feelings of strangeness, place them in a somewhat anomalous position. In many instances, this situation leads to low grades, and consequently to an adverse impression toward the scholastic attainment among Filipino students.[14]

THE "BARRED ZONE"

The Immigration Act of 1917 established, in terms of latitude and longitude, a large portion of Asia from which immigrants were excluded and whose residents were denied the right of naturalization in the United States. This area is known as the "barred zone" in the present administration of immigration laws. The purpose of this portion of the Act was to prevent admission of persons of races contrasting with the dominant whites of the United States. Included in the barred zone are India, Pakistan, Siam, Indo-China, parts of Siberia, Arabia, Afghanistan, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and New Guinea. The number of persons from these areas who had come to the United States is very small, and quantitatively there has been no problem of significant proportion involved in their acculturation and accommodation.

---

[13] Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, *One America,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1946, p. 356.

[14] Benicio T. Catapucan, "Problems of Filipino Students in America," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 26, No. 2, November–December, 1941, p. 149.

The possible exception is persons from India, considered in immigration statistics as "Hindus," of whom probably fewer than 4,000 are now resident in the United States.

> When the East Indian has applied in the past for citizenship, the courts in the United States have disagreed over the question of racial origin. Many East Indians claimed to be members of the "white race" and hence admissible. But if not of the "white race" or of African descent they are ineligible for naturalization according to laws of the United States. . . .[15]

Locally, in some few areas, the East Indian constitutes a problem of ethnic adjustment because of small concentrations of Indian laborers. These are mainly in California and Arizona, where they engage in agricultural work.

> The lack of citizenship makes every East Indian in the United States suffer, but those who suffer most are the East Indian farmers, who are in the majority and who reside mainly on the West Coast, which has a long history of anti-Asiatic feelings. These East Indian farmers, who are some of the best of farmers, cannot, on account of their ineligibility, own or lease land in their own names, and thus they have been exploited by unscrupulous persons.
>
> These people, who had been used to farming from their childhood and had owned modest holdings in the country of their birth, have had to become farm laborers instead of farm owners. Thus, instead of staying in one place, they have had to move from one part of the state to another, according to the demand for farm labor in different areas. For these people there was and there is no life. They are always on the go and have no genuine social life or social contacts.[16]

SUMMARY

Orientals in the United States are few in number, but because of their concentration on the Pacific Coast and in a few other areas, they have caused tensions far beyond what their numbers would appear to justify.

---

[15] Emory S. Bogardus, "Immigration Quota for India," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 28, No. 6, July–August, 1944, p. 483.

[16] Gurdial Singh, "East Indians in the United States," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 30, No. 3, January–February, 1946, p. 213.

Numbering fewer than a half million persons in a total population of 150 million, their destinies have been bound up with fluctuations in economic and other conditions in the areas in which they are found in this country, and with shifting international relations.

The principal groups in the United States are the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Filipinos. Chronologically, the Chinese were the first to arrive in considerable force, shortly after the gold rush to California began in the middle of the past century. Met first with welcoming tolerance because they filled a felt need in the labor force, they later became objects of disapproval and suspicion, and eventually of concerted anti-Chinese movement which led to Federal exclusion of further Chinese immigration in 1882. However, during the Second World War there was widespread sympathy for the Chinese as our allies and as victims of Japanese aggression, which resulted in placing them under the quota laws with a small annual quota of immigrants, so small as to be insignificant.

The typical Chinese adjustment of recent times has been in Chinatowns in a few urban centers, but more recently the Chinatowns have been declining in importance and disintegrating under changing conditions. The new generations of Chinese, born in the United States, continue to present an adjustment problem. There are legal discriminations against them as those of several states prohibiting intermarriage with whites; and in all efforts to enter more fully into American life they are met with limitations owing to their social visibility as a racial group.

The Japanese in America have run a similar course, their problems aggravated by growing mistrust and misunderstanding between Japan and the United States in the international field which have been reflected in treatment of the Japanese in this country to some extent. This was climaxed in the forceful removal of Japanese from their Pacific Coast homes as a security measure during the Second World War, and the problems of their return to their former or new homes in the country at the close of the war. The newer generations of Japanese are bound by close family ties to the older and increasingly must bear the burden of adjustment against the disadvantages of racial differences and social visibility.

After the gentlemen's agreement which virtually stopped Japanese immigration, the need for low-priced and efficient labor in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast was met in part by Filipino immigrants. Although coming from a territory under the control of the United States, the Filipinos could not become naturalized. Their immigration was predominantly of young men, with very few women, which has meant, in many cases, extreme maladjustment, since the Filipinos could not become part of the larger community.

Other groups from Asia, although faced with similar disabilities in so far as accommodation and adjustment are concerned, are so small in numbers that their problems have had relatively little attention and do not bulk large in the national picture.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How many Orientals are there in the United States?
2. Where, principally, do they live?
3. What has been the typical cycle of relations of Orientals in this country?
4. How have the adjustment problems of the Chinese and Japanese immigrants differed?
5. What was the "gentlemen's agreement"?
6. Why have Chinatowns in American cities been declining recently?
7. How has treatment of Orientals in this country differed from that in Hawaii?
8. How have sex ratios among Oriental immigrants affected their adjustment problems?
9. What peculiar problems have confronted the Filipino immigrants?
10. What is the "barred zone"?

SUGGESTED READINGS

BERNARD, WILLIAM S. (ed.), *American Immigration Policy, A Reappraisal,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950.

BLOOM, LEONARD, and RUTH RIEMER. *Removal and Return: The Socio-Economic Effects of the War on Japanese Americans,* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949.

BROWN, DEMETRA V., *A Child of the Orient,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1914.

COOLIDGE, MARY ROBERTS, *Chinese Immigration,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1909.

ESKELUND, KARL, *My Chinese Wife,* Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York, 1945.

GULICK, SIDNEY L., *American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1919.

ICHIHASHI, YAMATO, *Japanese in the United States,* Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1932.

KORWITZ, MILTON R., *The Alien and the Asiatic in American Law,* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1946.

LEIGHTON, ALEXANDER H., *The Governing of Men,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1945.

MCWILLIAMS, CAREY, *Prejudice: Japanese Americans, Symbols of Racial Intolerance,* Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1944.

CHAPTER 20

AMERICAN IMMIGRATION

In the past few centuries which have constituted the period of vast European expansion described in a previous chapter, the Americas, and more especially what is now the United States, became the receiving ground for scores of millions of European immigrants. The mass movement from the densely populated European continent grew in size and diversity of cultural type until it reached its height during the closing years of the nineteenth and opening years of the twentieth centuries. During the past 150 years the United States has been a huge laboratory of cultural adjustments and assimilation for these immigrants, and from the experiences of this country much has been learned which is pertinent to the understanding of the social processes involved when strange peoples meet and live together.

The processes of acculturation and assimilation in the United States have been somewhat different from similar processes where Europeans migrated elsewhere, as, for instance, to Latin America and the countries of the British Commonwealth of nations. This uniqueness has been largely because of the greater variety and numbers of people involved. Europeans who migrated to Latin America in about the same period as the great immigration into the United States were Roman Catholic southern Europeans of similar languages; and the nations of the British Commonwealth have controlled immigration much more closely than the United States has, with the result that they have received mainly English-speaking Protestants. Into the United States, on the other hand, have come people from every part of Europe in considerable numbers—Protestant and Catholic, and of all European linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

HISTORY

European immigration into the United States began in the colonial period of this country following the European discovery of North America, and by the time the United States became a nation this was already predominantly a Caucasoid country even though there were in its population considerable numbers of Amerindians and Negroes.

The unrest wrought by the industrial revolution and the opportunities afforded by the new means of transportation contributed to the making of a new period of European migration and the subsequent rise of a new set of ethnic group relationships. At the time of the American Revolution the population of the American colonies was almost entirely native-born; and although it consisted of a variety of fairly distinct ethnic groups, such as the Scotch-Irish hillbillies of the Appalachians and the so-called "Pennsylvania Dutch," these groups had long since worked out methods of getting along together or, as was the case with some of them, had become more or less isolated. The new immigrants who came shortly after the opening of the nineteenth century in a series of increasingly massive waves—Irish, Germans, Swedish, Norwegians, Danish, etc.—all created, mainly on a local scale, new problems of ethnic group relationships. For the languages and other aspects of the cultures of these peoples were distinct from those of native Americans.

Toward the close of the nineteenth century the character of the immigrants into the United States changed in such ways that the problems of ethnic group relationships became ever more acute. Immigration from northern Europe declined, while that from central and southern Europe increased enormously. Jews from both Russia and southeastern Europe came in steadily increasing numbers; they were of many nationalities but of one faith and one general ethnic identity. Serbs, Croats, Czechs, Poles, and other central Europeans came to man the rapidly developing heavy industries. Italians, Greeks, and others from around the Mediterranean came to work in the textile and other industries of New England, to operate restaurants and fishing fleets, and to grow market produce. Chinese peasants came from the Canton area to make their fortunes working on the railroads, and stayed to settle along the West Coast. And following them came the Japanese to add their ethnic attributes to the cultural potpourri that was, and in some measure still is, America. More recently there has occurred a considerable migration of humble Mexican peons into the Southwestern states. Ethnically, all these later immigrants differed far more from the native Americans among whom they settled than did the Germans and other northern Europeans who preceded them. The problem of ethnic group relations was therefore much intensified.[1]

"Old" and "New." The usual division of periods of immigration into the United States is into what are called the "Old" and "New" immigrations. The Old includes the period beginning at about 1800 and continuing to 1880; while the New is the period from 1880 until the enactment of the quota controls in the 1920's. The dates are somewhat arbitrary. There was a considerable overlap between the two periods, but at the risk of some oversimplification, it is convenient to treat them as though they were distinct. Thus viewed, they present striking contrasts in factors having a bearing on accommodation and assimilation. These contrasts, as noted above, include differences in places of origin of the main body of immi-

---

[1] Richard T. LaPiere, *Sociology*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1946, pp. 428–429.

grants of each period and in their languages, religions, and cultural backgrounds generally.

Also highly significant were the changes taking place in the United States which affected its capacity for absorbing immigrants, and the increasingly hostile attitudes toward them. During the period of the Old immigration the country was expanding territorially, by the Louisiana Purchase, the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, and the settlement of the dispute with Britain over the northwest section of what is now the United States. As hundreds of thousands of square miles of land were added to the nation, much of it fertile and filled with such natural resources as forests, minerals, and game, there was a felt need for more population to people it. The adjustment of immigrants could be in vast, uncrowded rural areas, and there appeared to be potentially enough for all comers who were willing to work hard.

By the time the New immigration had set in, our territorial expansion was about ended, the best land and richest resources were largely occupied or preempted, cities were growing, and competitive wage work was becoming the chief means of livelihood. Not only were the New immigrants strange and of conflicting ideas and beliefs, they also had to make their adjustments in crowded slum areas and in the face of a growing realization that there might not always be enough for everyone.

Labor and Immigration. The rising organized labor movement from the beginning gave voice to the new attitude toward immigrants, in whom workers saw a grave threat to their own livelihood and to the rising standard of living. In general there is some doubt as to the notions which seem to have guided labor's attitude toward immigration. From early in the country's history the expansion, first of agriculture, then of industry, has been able to absorb the new arrivals as rapidly as they have come. The newest immigrants usually fitted into the labor pyramid at the bottom, in the occupations offering the poorest pay and the least desirable work, while the native workers, because of this, usually were able to rise in the pyramid to higher levels. But there were apt to be temporary displacements in this process which were at times and locally injurious to the native workers.

Occupying a marginal position in the labor markets, the immigrants often absorbed, largely, the shocks of recessions and unemployment and to some extent saved native workers from such exposure.

Usually the immigrant workers were sympathetic with and supporters of labor organizations which admitted them to membership. Indeed, among the names of many early leaders of the labor movement in this country those of immigrants are prominent. Nevertheless, immigrant workers who did not have access to labor-union membership were at times used, and often in considerable numbers, as strike breakers, and thus contributed to the breakdown of some unions and their programs. Such instances served to increase feeling against immigrants generally, as might be expected.

The Quota Laws. It is probable that the flood of European immigration had passed its crest and was receding even before the First World War, but the agitation against large-scale immigration continued. Starting in 1917 and continuing until 1927, a series of Federal laws tightened up controls, first by closer selection among immigrants as to quality, and eventually by placing immigration under a quota system which was designed to control both the whole number of immigrants and the relative numbers coming from different countries.

The quota laws placed a top limit of about 150,000 per year on the number of immigrants to be admitted from the various quota countries, chiefly the countries of Europe. It also attempted to proportion those admitted as immigrants in ratio to the number of descendants of various nationalities already in the country. At best the quota system has been a crude instrument, and it has not greatly altered the make-up of immigration; but it has ended, at least as far as Europe is concerned, the great mass movements of people to this country.

As noted in the previous chapter, most of Asia was marked off as an excluded zone, and countries in this area did not receive quotas. Peoples from countries of the Americas and Africa are admitted without quota limitations. With the exception of Mexico, the nonquota countries have contributed relatively few immigrants to the United States, although since the limitations on Europeans there has been a steady growth in immigration from Latin America. This has given rise to some occasional discussion of the extension of quota controls to Latin-American nations.

QUANTITATIVE FACTORS

The total number of Europeans who came into the United States has been about 40 million, representing a net immigration of about 36 million. In 1907 and again in 1910, the number of immigrants was more than a million a year. There have been some fluctuations in numbers and trends, following largely the business cycles of this country, but the general trend until 1910 was accelerated growth in numbers. At some periods the proportion of people of foreign birth in the American population reached one-seventh of the total. When it is considered that this great proportion of foreign-born were concentrated in the northeastern states and in a few large cities, the difficulties of accommodation and assimilation arising from their sheer numbers become apparent. A major item in the program of public-spirited people of the larger eastern cities was Americanization, which it was necessary to undertake on a mass scale.

Since 1850, each census has included the fundamental tabulations that classify the foreign-born according to their national origins. It is worth repeating that the make-up of the immigrant population since 1890 is of basic importance, since the 1924 Immigration Act assigned quotas to the various nations that were based on the numbers which they had contributed to our population as of that year. In 1890, too, the immigrant population had attained a total of 9,249,560 or 14.7 per cent of the total population. This percentage has never been exceeded in the history of the United States, although it was equaled again in 1910. . . .

. . . .

The foreign-born population reached its all-time high in 1930, when there were 14,204,149 persons born elsewhere residing in the United States. The restrictions of the 1924 Immigration Act were already making their influence felt, however, for the proportion of foreign-born in the population had fallen to 11.6. Providing the basic law is not changed the proportion will fall rapidly in the future. It was 8.8 per cent in 1940; for the millions of immigrants who came in the opening years of the twentieth century are among those exposed to the high mortality rates that prevail among elderly people.[2]

Component Elements. The new arrivals were from all the countries of Europe, but a few nationalities have predominated and thus have come to symbolize immigration in American minds. The figures on national origins are inexact for several reasons. Until recent years no adequate record of arrivals was kept. Boundary lines of European countries have shifted. New nations have been formed, and old ones have lost their national identity. And throughout the history of immigration, a considerable pro-

Principal European Immigrant Groups

"OLD" IMMIGRATION		"NEW" IMMIGRATION	
Germans	6,000,000	Italians	4,750,000
Irish	4,500,000	Austro-Hungarians *	4,125,000
British	4,250,000	Russians (including Poles)	3,300,000

* Austrians, Bohemians, Czechs, Hungarians, etc.

---

[2] T. Lynn Smith, *Population Analysis,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1948, pp. 320, 321.

portion of it has been indirect, by way of countries other than that of origin. Making no pretense to accuracy, however, rough approximations of the size of the various immigrant groups can be stated.

The Walker Theory. The feeling that hordes of immigrants were "taking over the country" grew not only from the number who entered, but also from the obvious differential in rates of reproduction. The immigrants, especially the most newly arrived at any given time, had large families if they came in family groups, with many more children and more frequent births than most native American families. Thus it appeared that the proportion of Americans would diminish while the descendants of immigrants multiplied at a seemingly alarming rate.

The fear was summed up in a theory put forth by General Francis Walker, who at the time was head of the Census Bureau: [3]

> About sixty years ago General Walker set forth the theory that immigration into a country did not constitute a net addition to its population but rather was a substitution of the immigrant and his children for the children of people already there. He pointed out that the birth rate was apparently declining most rapidly in those parts of the country where immigrants were most numerous and held that there was a causal connection between these two conditions. He believed that the unwillingness of the natives to have their children compete with foreigners was the reason for this decline. If this was the case, then allowing the immigrants to enter at will merely meant that we were condemning a like number of children of native parents to remain unborn. Since there always has been more or less feeling against the newer immigrants, this view was very naturally seized upon by those opposed to immigration as a very effective weapon in their campaign to reduce immigration. We are concerned here only with the truth involved in General Walker's position.
>
> It is quite impossible, of course, to prove the truth of such a proposition. It is true that native birth rates, if we use ratios of children to women as indicative of these rates in the days before birth registration became adequate, have long been lower in the northeastern states, where immigrants are most numerous, than in most other parts of the country. It is also true that when the rough, heavy work of factories passed into the hands of immigrants, many natives did not want their children to enter these tasks. But it does not follow that immigration is the sole factor, or even the chief one in producing a lower birth rate among the natives. In the discussion of the decline of the birth rate it has been maintained that urbanization and industrialization are the factors most uniformly associated with a decline in the birth rate and in the rate of natural increase. If this position is correct, then the question to which we are really interested in finding an answer is whether immigration has had any effect upon the rate of our industrialization and urbanization. But it must not be forgotten

---

[3] Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1942, 3d ed., p. 381.

that this is quite a different question from the one as to whether the direct competition of immigrants and natives causes the latter to reduce their birth rates.

The Walker theory, and other notions of similar supposed import, may now be looked upon with skepticism. They often were undoubtedly based upon false premises and inadequate information, but they represented general feelings ranging from uneasiness to alarm among the American people at the close of the period of large-scale European immigration. The growing doubt as to whether the "melting pot" did work or could work contributed to the problems of relationships between the native people of this country and the older immigrant stock on the one hand, and the newer arrivals on the other.

Recent Changes. The quantitative decline in immigration has brought a considerable change in the problems of accommodation and assimilation during the past generation. The change is described by one writer: [4]

> Two generations ago many American communities, especially on the eastern seaboard, were in the throes of attempting to absorb immigrants at the rate—in some years—of about a million a year. The problems engendered by this process were enormous. There were problems of housing. There were problems of furnishing schools. There were problems of teaching the newcomers the American language. There were problems of protecting them against industrial exploitation. There were problems of protecting American political institutions from the unscrupulous exploitation of blocs of foreign-born voters. There were problems of helping families bridge the gap between first and second generations. There were problems of interpretation. The social organization of the communities which received these immigrants was in constant disequilibrium. The communities reeled under the impact of wave after wave of newcomers.
>
> With the damming up of the flood of immigration in the 1920's, a breathing spell was granted. With no new influx to face each year, communities began to take stock of just what the situation was. Now the emphasis is no longer on the immigration problem as such. The problems are those of minority groups in general. Thus a generation ago the attention of students of community life turned to the problems that arose not from masses of unassimilated immigrants but from the presence in the community of widely differing culture groups.
>
> At the present time the issues in cultural conflict are falling into sharper focus. Second and third generation Americans speak the American language, dress like everyone else, eat the same foods, get protection from the same unions, emulate the same motion picture stars, and cheer the same baseball teams as old Americans do. The problems that beset the community at the present time are not likely to focus on the more superficial cultural differences,

---

[4] Jessie Bernard, *American Community Behavior,* The Dryden Press, Inc., New York, 1949, pp. 356–357.

since, with the exception of the Mexican-Americans and the Puerto Ricans, these superficial differences have all but disappeared.

The great majority of the millions of Europeans who have made up the bulk of American immigration have adjusted rapidly, and their descendants have been so completely assimilated into the general population that they are no longer distinguishable as ethnic groups. In fact, the population of the United States is almost entirely made up of descendants of European immigrants. To this extent the "melting pot" has worked, even though not without strains on the social structure and not without some toll in maladjustment of individuals.

As the flood of immigration recedes, it becomes evident, however, that there are a number of groups who have not been so assimilated, or whose assimilation has been slow and incomplete, and it is upon these that present attention focuses, even though the numbers involved are not great. In some cases slow and incomplete assimilation apparently has been due to physical conditions, such as that of relative isolation; in others it has been due, in part, to deep-seated prejudices in the American people; and in some cases, in part at least, to qualities in the unassimilated groups themselves. This makes necessary some attention to the qualitative factors that have been involved in the immigrations.

QUALITATIVE FACTORS

The most general statement which can be made about the quality of European immigrants is that it has varied and does vary greatly. Already some mention has been made of the differences in cultural qualities, including language and religion. There have also been differences in social visibility which have made the assimilation of some more slow and difficult than in other cases. In some cases the degree of familial and community cohesion has led to the development of relatively self-sufficient groups of immigrants and their descendants which have resisted complete absorption into the general population. In some cases nationalistic attachments to the former homeland have been exceedingly strong and have not completely dissolved with the passage of time.

Erroneous Assumptions. Running through popular thinking throughout the history of European immigration have been some assumptions which erred, usually, in holding that temporary and surface differentials were permanent and ineradicable. Usually such assumptions have been made about the most recent arrivals and by those who have descended from immigrants who once were looked upon in the same light.

One general assumption has been that immigrants (the newer arrivals) are inferior physiologically and in mental equipment to native Americans. From such assumptions, many others logically arise. It has been held that each new group to arrive is made up largely of those who are the physically unfit of the mother country, and that their assimilation into the general population of the United States would mean gradual dilution of our own general physiological stock. Especially before careful selection of immigrants was begun early in this century, it is true that considerable numbers of undernourished and ill persons were admitted, to become sources of worry for various public and private agencies. However, under favorable conditions, the immigrants have become physiologically improved, and certainly the general stock has not deteriorated as had been anticipated.

In the matter of presumed inferiority in mental capacity, the notion has been much more persistent that the immigrants and their descendants are not, and cannot be, the equal of the native Americans. So many variables enter into such comparisons that it is impossible to isolate any one of them and to say with certainty that there is an innate and unchangeable inferiority of stock. The children of immigrants have often been retarded in their educational attainments, but in such cases linguistic handicaps, poverty, and other obvious factors have entered to confuse the picture. At the same time, many immigrants and their children, under strong incentive, have done remarkably well in overcoming handicaps and in rapid learning. When all evidence is considered, the case of inferiority in mental capacity is difficult to maintain.

Other assumptions have been that the immigrants, or specific groups of them, are innately more inclined to crime, or because of cultural and political backgrounds, cannot adjust to American institutions. Criminologists have now concluded that immigrants are less, rather than more, lawless than native Americans, but that their children, caught between two cultural backgrounds, are more apt than the average to become delinquents or involved in crimes. There is little in such comparisons which does not lend itself to ready explanation in cultural and situational terms and which is not subject to change with time.

The safest generalization regarding European immigrants is that they have shown, aside from comparative poverty and differing culture background, about the same physical and mental capacities and about the same capacities to adjust, in time, to American life ways, as have the American people generally; and they show among themselves such a wide range of variation in all these regards as to be comparable to the general population.

The Unassimilated. The current problem is that of those who remain unassimilated into the general life of the community and nation. That this is not a problem alone of certain groups of European immigrants, but also of the native Amerindians, the Negroes, and the Orientals, has already been amply demonstrated. In each of these cases the various factors which retard complete assimilation are evident—the prejudices which attach to social visibility and racial myths; the relative isolation, partly enforced from without or by conditions and strong communal ties within the unassimilated group; and deep-seated cultural characteristics which yield but slowly in the assimilative process.

Probably the largest group of European immigrants which has not been completely assimilated are the European Jews and their descendants, who have previously been discussed in some detail. It is here noteworthy that a large part of the Jewish population has been assimilated, that those of the older immigration have been more completely assimilated than the newer, and that there is every reason to expect further assimilation; this, despite obvious obstacles to retard and distort the assimilative process.

Next in size and significance would be the recent offspring of immigrants from eastern and southeastern Europe, the very recency of which immigration gives a partial answer as to the question of lack of complete assimilation. There is no reason for thinking that the assimilative process in these cases will not work out much as it has in the case of the millions who came earlier.

Others who have failed to assimilate completely include the various communities of descendants of foreign-born immigrants of many generations ago, who live in relative self-sufficient isolation from the general population and who usually have strong and conservative religious community ties. Many such communities have already disappeared, and in others it may be noted that each new generation is more nearly assimilated to American life ways than was the previous generation, so that, while slowly, the assimilative process is at work.

Cultural Islands. One of the picturesque features of the American scene is the existence in every region and nearly every state of cultural islands of European immigrants or their descendants who cling to old-world ways sufficiently to make them stand out in contrast to neighboring communities. The same is true of every large city of the country, each having its sections devoted to various nationality groups, as the "Little Italy," or its "Latin Quarter," or other well-recognized areas. In such districts of cities usually the diet and cuisine of the country from which its residents have come are commonplace, and one may hear the native language of the immigrants on the streets and in public places. There are also usually churches of the old-world pattern, and other marks of cultural identity and difference.

Points of View. What is desirable in assimilation is a matter of disagreement among those who concern themselves with the process. Three main positions may be noted in discussions of the problem. The first is that the cohesion and welfare of American society depend upon as speedy and complete assimilation as possible, with the ideal being the eradication of all cultural elements save those which have come to be regarded as "American."

A second point of view, standing somewhat in opposition to the first, is based upon the notion that the richness of American life comes mainly from the diversity of its cultural backgrounds. In this point of view, the desirable would be to retain cultural elements of various peoples, to encourage even bilingualism and other differences, since diversity itself is looked upon as a source of well-being in a great nation.

The third point of view is a middle ground between the other two. It would stress the more or less ritualistic perpetuation of the more "picturesque" phases of foreign cultures as they persist in some elements of the population. Such picturesque elements would include, especially, the folk music and art, the handicrafts, and (for ceremonial occasions) the costumes of the foreign culture groups.

The third point of view appears to be the most nearly implemented in so far as any systematic program is concerned, and through schools, churches, lodges, and various unofficial societies it has retained considerable vitality throughout recent American history. Under this type of program, assimilation in all that is basic in ways of life and thought proceeds.

THE ASSIMILATIVE PROCESS

The study of the history of immigration in the United States, more especially that of the past few generations, has given us a considerable body of knowledge concerning assimilation. It would appear that it is a somewhat predictable process with definable stages. In the absence of extraordinary obstacles or incentives, the assimilation of European immigrants appears to have been a three-generation process and to have involved three significant stages. The stages, however, do not usually coincide with the generations in sequence.

In such analyses as reveal the stages of the process, it appears that the first generation of arriving immigrants are first under strong pressure to find an accommodation to the general scheme of things in what to them is a new world. This usually means a minimal knowledge of the American language, some small knowledge of American money and exchange, and the learning, for the men, at least, of occupations and skills which will provide them with a living.

Usually, too, the first generation of arriving immigrants is under various pressures to become formally incorporated into the legal society through naturalization. Such incorporation gives them certain rights and privileges as citizens, as well as status in the community. It requires a degree of formal education, the renunciation of former political ties to the home nation, and the formal acceptance of obligations as American citizens.

Young children coming in with immigrants, or those born to immigrant parents in this country, constitute the second generation as described in the studies of immigration. By birth (as far as European immigrants are concerned) most members of this second generation have citizenship status upon reaching twenty-one years of age, and through family training they absorb the accommodation which their parents have made occupationally and otherwise to the American scene. This generation, however, has a wider range of early experience in the general American culture, including attendance at American schools, and represents the crisis of cultural change. At times this second generation intermarries with Americans, thus completing the cycle of stages in the assimilative process with that of amalgamation.

The children of second-generation parents usually are fully assimilated to the extent that the American cultural ways are normal and natural to them, and any ties remaining with the old-world culture are simply formal and relatively meaningless.

> When the child of an immigrant marries he has usually already resolved that the handicaps he faced as a child will never be the lot of his children. As a consequence he teaches his children the American language, rather than the old-world language and ways that were forced upon him. He is likely to encourage his child to participate in the American life and to associate freely with all elements in the American population.
>
> The last step in acculturation comes in the field of religion. More often the major conflict between first and third generations centers about the church service, usually hinging on whether or not the service should be continued in the native tongue or given only in English. The grandparent generation feels that the gospel must be in the native tongue or it isn't the gospel at all. The third generation, wanting to lose every semblance of their foreign connection, is insistent, when they come to the age when they have something to say about church affairs, that the service be in English only. The *accommodation* between the two generations is first worked out by one church service of the day being offered in the foreign language and the other in English. Gradually as the third

> generation takes over complete control of the church the old generation's voice is silenced and English becomes the language for all church services.[5]

While the description of the normal process has considerable validity in the thinking of students of American immigration, there have been, of course, numerous exceptions. In some cases the first generation has become, seemingly, completely assimilated into the dominant ways of the country. In others, the process has taken more than the typical three generations. It can only be said that, recognizing numerous exceptions, the third generation, or the grandchildren of incoming immigrants, are completely assimilated. And usually there are three clearly marked stages in the process: the early accommodation to American life ways sufficient to permit incoming immigrants to survive and function, especially economically; the later step of formal incorporation by naturalization after some formal education in American history and American political institutions; and, coming in the second or third generation, completion of assimilation by marriage into the dominant group.

MARGINALITY

In the study of the assimilative process in the history of American immigration, there has developed the concept of marginality. Either an individual or a group may be described as marginal, in the sense in which this term is used. Its meaning is that the individual or the group is living under the influence of two contrasting cultures at the same time, and because of this, cannot be fully adjusted to either one. This is evidenced usually in the loss of effectiveness of the social controls of both cultures where the marginal individual or group is concerned.

While such marginality may be characteristic of groups, it can probably be most clearly discerned at the individual level, where it has definite effects in strains on the personality of the marginal person.

> The marginal personality is characteristic not only of the first generation of immigrants but also of the youth generation. Immigrant parents at best rarely make a complete transfer to the American culture pattern. They retain much of the old culture, acquiring only enough of the new traits to get them by in practical situations. But the children and the youth have to absorb the new culture fully. They begin doing so in their neighborhood and in the school room. Soon they are American in a very vital sense. They find it necessary to ignore the patterns of the old world culture which the parents taught them and continue to insist upon.
>
> This places the new generation in a marginal position in which they are in

---

[5] Paul H. Landis, *Man in Environment, An Introduction to Sociology,* The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1949, p. 569.

conflict with the past. The consequence has been that in American cities juvenile delinquency rates have been highest among the children of immigrants. They could not accept the old culture of the parents or the morality of the foreign country, and therefore had to defy their parents and come to terms with the child and youth group of the American culture. In doing so they often made mistakes. Being almost entirely free of parental authority, they found themselves in conflict with the law.[6]

Other Effects. While one of the most tangible results of marginality is reflected in statistics of juvenile delinquency, it is probable that other factors enter to confuse this fairly consistent picture somewhat. Since law enforcement, whether in the case of adults or that of children and youth, is highly selective, depending at various stages upon the viewpoints of enforcing officials, there is little doubt but that often the children of immigrants are singled out for apprehension as delinquents largely upon the basis of prejudiced stereotypes. It is also probable that the prevailing poverty and attending conditions in which the children of many immigrants have been brought up play a part separate from that of marginality in the bicultural sense.

Nevertheless, as numerous life stories of the children of immigrants have shown, there is validity in the concept of marginality, especially as applied to second-generation immigrants. In detail it can be demonstrated that they have difficulties in adjusting to school, playground, and neighborhood because of their cultural characteristics; and in adjusting at home and in the old-world culture because of their experiences and contacts in the wider American community.

It is noteworthy that while marginality may contribute to delinquent behavior, presumably most second-generation immigrants make successful adjustments despite strains and obstacles. It is probable that the behavior distortions may take a positive turn as well as, in some cases, a negative turn. Many second-generation immigrants, and some first-generation ones, have been among the outstanding men and women of our society. They have included statesmen, generals, newspaper editors, inventors, business leaders, athletes, and in other ways have distinguished themselves by an application to their constructive interests above the average; and this, probably, because of the pressures of biculturality.

IMMIGRANTS AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

The presence in the United States at all stages of our national history of considerable numbers of immigrants and their descendants from European nations has had important effects on the relations of this country with European countries. The breakdown of traditional isolationism was undoubtedly hurried by the presence in this country of sympathizers with one side or the other in international disputes. And the traditionally strong position of those of Anglo-Saxon heritage has been a factor in our usual close relationships with the British when disputes have arisen involving them.

---

[6] Paul H. Landis, *Social Policies in the Making,* reprinted by special permission of D. C. Heath and Company, Inc., Boston, 1947, pp. 145–146.

The United States, with its emphasis upon freedom of organization and expression, has been the home of a number of nationalistic organizations whose chief purpose it has been to sponsor or support the aspirations of one or another European people. Thus the movement which brought the Irish Republic into being and, as previously mentioned, the Zionist movement, had strong support in this country. Organized partisans in this country helped determine the boundary lines of new nations created at the close of the First World War in the Danubian area. Often such organizations in this country have been embarrassing in our government's relations with others and in its participation in international conferences.

Hyphenated Americans. In almost every foreign war in which the United States has engaged, people of foreign birth or descent have come in for suspicion, sometimes probably deserved, at others clearly not. In our wars against Germany, more specially in the First World War, German Americans in the United States constituted a problem, and the same has been true of other nationality groups at other times.

Just how far such elements in the population may be trusted in time of warfare when loyalties may be somewhat divided is necessarily problematical. There is the further problem of preventing suspicion and hatred in various communities toward such elements from flaming into violence and injustice during the hysterias which may come with war. When the entire record is reviewed, however, it may safely be said that the immigrants and their descendants have proved loyal during our foreign wars, often to the extent of exceeding their quotas of volunteers for the armed services and otherwise sacrificing for the war effort.

The immigrant press of the United States, largely devoted to the interests of European migrants, has frequently taken sides in European international quarrels, even to the extent of subverting American neutrality policies, but with the decline of the foreign-language press in recent years the problem has diminished even more rapidly.

Double Citizenship. Now almost entirely of historical interest have been the disputes with some countries arising from different notions regarding citizenship. As was noted in connection with the Japanese and the claims made upon them, theoretically, by Japan, so there have been similar claims made notably by Italy and Germany of their former nationals abroad. In their interpretation, their citizens upon becoming naturalized in the United States could not renounce their obligations to the home countries and were still subject to the government of the Old Country, especially in the matter of military service. Germany has tried, on occasion, to call up American citizens for conscription into German armies, and the Italians caused several disputes with the United States by attempting to force naturalized Americans of Italian birth, when visiting Italy, to fulfill their military training periods or arrange for substitutes.

In recent years there has been some effort to achieve the same ends by subtler methods, such as inducing refugees in the United States to perform functions for other governments, usually by bringing the pressure of threats against relatives or friends still living in the foreign land. This tactic has been charged, especially, against the Soviet Union.

SUMMARY

Much of our understanding of the dynamics of cultural relationships and adjustments has come from the study of the large European immigration into the United States, beginning at the start of the colonial period of North America and continuing to the present time. It has been the largest movement of people from one area to another in world history for a comparable period of time.

Significant in the history of this migratory movement has been its steady growth in volume until 1910, since which it has receded, a trend hastened by the application of stringent quota controls. From the time of the opening of our national history until about 1880, it is usually referred to as the "Old" immigration; its origins were northern and western Europe, its constituent peoples much like those already in the United States in language, religion, and other cultural attributes; and it found a vast open land filled with resources in which to make its adjustment. After 1880, the make-up changed to one predominantly of southern and eastern Europeans, culturally contrasting with residents of the United States and forced to make their adjustments in an urbanizing, industrializing nation in which good free land and resources were already occupied and preempted.

Most usually the assimilation of the newcomers has taken three generations and has involved the three distinguishable stages of accommodation, formal incorporation (naturalization), and amalgamation (intermarriage). The critical generation appears usually to have been the second, characterized by cultural marginality, that is, the need for living in two cultures without complete adaptation to either one. Where assimilation has lagged, there have been present recognizable hindrances to the process.

Problems of immigration during the nineteenth and early twentieth century were related to its great volume by comparison with the size of receiving communities. With the decline of the volume, the interest has changed to one in the remaining unassimilated and slowly assimilating groups, and to the problems of minority peoples generally.

It has been generally true that each new wave of migrants met with suspicion and hostility from both the native population and the better established earlier immigrants, a phenomenon which was aggravated with the changes associated with the New immigration.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How many immigrants have come to this country from Europe?
2. What significant distinctions may be made between the "Old" and the "New" immigrations?
3. How have changing conditions in the United States, historically, affected the reception of immigrant groups?
4. How have quota controls attempted to affect immigration quantitatively? Qualitatively?
5. Where has recent immigration concentrated in this country?
6. Describe the stages of assimilation.
7. What are the characteristics of the various generations of descendants of immigrants?
8. Why has organized labor opposed open immigration?
9. What recent changes have taken place in the problem of immigrants?
10. How have foreign-born groups and their descendants in this country influenced international relations?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Adamic, Louis, *A Nation of Nations,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944.

Adams, J. T., *The Epic of America,* Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1941.

Breckenridge, Sophonisba P., *New Homes for Old,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1921.

Brown, F. J., and J. S. Roucek, *One America,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1945.

Child, Irvin L., *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1943.

Davie, Maurice R., *World Immigration,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1936.

Fairchild, Henry Pratt, *Race and Nationality as Factors in American Life,* The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1947.

Hansen, M. L., *The Immigrant in American History,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1940.

SEABROOK, WILLIAM, *These Foreigners,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1938.

STONEQUIST, E. V., *The Marginal Man,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1937.

TAFT, DONALD R., *Human Migration,* The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1936.

WILLIAMS, PHYLLIS H., *South Italian Folkways in Italy and America,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1938.

WITTKE, CARL, *We Who Built America,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1940.

PART III

ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER 21

THE PROBLEM

THE EASIEST WAY to delineate the problem involved in ethnic relations is the popular and common-sense one of defining it in terms of some moralistic set of standards such as human equality, abstract justice, or the "brotherhood of man" in the religious sense. For those of some degree of scientific training, such definitions of the problem are inadequate since the standards themselves vary from people to people and with time and place. In application to specific situations, they can lead only to controversy and confusion. Thus they do not lend themselves to the quest for understanding in terms of universal validity. The acceptance by the sciences of human behavior of the principle of cultural relativity means that scientifically meaningful interpretation must transcend the ideological biases of any particular group at a given time in its culture history.

The alternative to the moralistic approach is to sift carefully the knowledge we have of ethnic relations in many settings and in all parts of the world for such uniformities as may be found, and from these to make such generalizations as may be justified. From these, it may then be possible to state the problem of ethnic relations in universally valid terms and thus to clarify thinking about them. A recent book on race relations says in regard to uniformities: [1]

> Even though the course of race relations is not identical in any two situations, we must not conclude that there are no similarities. As a matter of fact, certain phenomena are virtually universal in those areas where racial and ethnic groups have come together. Conflict, though perhaps not inevitable, is a well-nigh universal accompaniment of the meeting of diverse people. Biological mixture is another, for there seems to be no exception to the rule that, when peoples come into contact, a mixture of blood results. The give and take of elements of culture is still another consequence, though wide differences occur in the rate of such exchange and the length to which it goes. The domination of one group over the other usually follows when people meet, and those in the subordinate group react in certain familiar ways. . . .

Granting the validity of these statements, they probably reflect too close an absorption in particulars of ethnic relations to yield firm universals such as may be found at a somewhat higher level of generalization. Certainly, from the descriptive material of preceding chapters, which might be expanded into many volumes, two characteristics of ethnic relations of pertinence for sociological study stand out. One is that ethnic relations vary from place to place and time to time or, in other words, they are characterized by *diversity*. The other is that, regardless of rate of change, they do *change* through time.

---

[1] Brewton Berry, *Race Relations*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1951, p. 154.

There is nothing that is new or startling in these generalizations for the social scientist. Rather, diversity and change are familiar concepts and help in fitting the study of racial and cultural relations into the expanding understanding of human relations in general.

> Although each society serves the members of the social group as the means by which that group survives, no two societies are or ever have been quite alike. Diversity in the form of group organization is the normal, similarity the exception. . . .
>
> . . . .
>
> Whatever men may believe, the fact is that all societies are subject to change. Change, whether slow and to the members imperceptible or rapid and distressing, is so characteristic of society and so necessary for the long-run survival of the group that it may be said of societies, as biologists have said of organic species, that they must change or die. . . .[2]

It is but a further logical step to recognize that the problem of ethnic relations is part and parcel of social problems in general, in the meaning that social problems have to those whose approach is scientific.

Ethnic and Other Relations. From the preceding chapters it is clear that ethnic relationships can be separated from other kinds of human relations only by a process of deliberate abstraction. Everywhere, regardless of the peoples involved or the type of relationships, those between and among racial and cultural groups are an aspect of a more comprehensive system of human adjustments. As in many cases, they may be deeply involved with competition for the ownership of land and other resources, the struggle for better jobs and working conditions, the conflict among political partisans, the maintenance of the privileged position of a class or caste, or mixtures of all these types of relationships, and others that are less obvious.

Thus it may be noted that ethnic relations, instead of being an isolated set of phenomena, are but a fragment of more extensive aggregations of facts and events from which they cannot be separated entirely. It follows, as noted above, that the problem of ethnic relations is but a part of problems of greater scope, and problems which often encompass nearly the whole of social structure. This realization greatly complicates interpretation of the factual material we have at hand, but it also gives us the key to the understanding of much that otherwise would be obscure.

---

[2] Richard T. LaPiere, *Sociology*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1946, pp. 24, 27.

Mutual Causation. It is in keeping with sociological theory of the present time, and with the facts of human group life as they are known, that in ethnic relations we have a problem of complex interactions—mutual and multiple causation—rather than one of simple cause and effect. In any given situation as those which have been described and discussed we cannot say, without doing violence to the evidence, that any particular accommodation among peoples, or any given racial or cultural conflict, is the effect of a given cause; nor can we say that it is the cause of a given effect. It is a part truth that the type of race relations existing in the United States South is a result of the comparative poverty of the Negroes, just as it is a part truth to say that the poverty of the Negroes is an effect of race prejudice. Yet neither statement is the whole truth, and both together do not give us the complete picture, for they do not explain the attitudes toward relatively well-to-do Negroes, nor the lack of the same kind of prejudice against "poor whites."

Any given accommodation or lack of it among two ethnic groups is at once cause and effect, not of one other related phenomenon, but of many. Such an accommodation is both a historic development and a function of a given situation at a point of time, and it has its existence partly in overt acts and in ideological systems, and partly in the personality peculiarities of the people who are involved.

The changes which take place in race and cultural relations, while under some circumstances apparently following cycles which involve successive stages of mutual dependence between groups, suspicion, hostility, renewed tolerance, and sometimes romantic veneration across dividing lines, cannot be said to have laws of their own. Where such cycles appear, there are always accompanying changes in many aspects of group life which in part account for them and which in part are affected by the cycles. When an existing relatively stable accommodation between alien groups breaks down, there are always other related breakdowns, as in the labor supply, in the existing political equilibrium, or in the effective social control of an area of group activity. Many examples could be cited from previous pages. The postwar change in the colonial relations between the people of Indonesia and the Dutch was interwoven, inextricably, with the changing economic conditions both of the Indonesian area and of the world in general, with the experiences of Japanese occupation, with demographic trends, and with the development of an educated leadership in the islands. Behind the local changes were the forces operating throughout the East and, for that matter, in all parts of the world. The events and their outcome have great significance in terms of ethnic relations, but they cannot be explained in ethnic terms alone. Nearer home, an outstanding historic illustration would be the complex of changes which were included in the Reconstruction period of the South following the War between the States. The ethnic problems of the Reconstruction and efforts to solve them are of principal interest for this book, but there were numerous other aspects which entered importantly—the purely economic, the partisan political, the technological—all interrelated as both cause and effect.

FORCES AT WORK

The recognition of the close interdependence of ethnic relations and other aspects of human societies requires a somewhat higher level of abstraction than the consideration of ethnic relations simply in terms of themselves. This can be achieved by consideration of the major forces operative within, and external to, group life which help shape the relationships within it. For convenience such forces may be considered as those which are man-made and man-controlled and those which are not. The dividing line is not a sharp one, especially in our relatively dynamic age which is characterized by a continuous extension of human controls into the realm of previously uncontrolled forces. But the division is sufficiently clear to have some utility for purposes of analysis.

External Forces. Chief among the external forces as they bear upon our particular interest in intergroup relations are the demographic. Others, such as changes in climate and weather, natural disasters, and the physical limitations on man's habitable world, come mainly to be felt in group life through the medium of the numbers and distribution of people. The demographic force most generally pertinent is the continuous growth of human population in a relatively inelastic world. Beyond that are the demographic forces embodied in differential rates of growth for peoples of different racial and cultural groups. Further, there are the sharp changes in the trends of growth, related changes in the sex and age compositions of populations, and other characteristics of various groups.

The effects of demographic growth are many, but among them is the necessary increase in the extent, frequency, and urgency of contacts among ethnic groups, with a concomitant diminution of isolation for any group. In turn these "effects" in various complex ways enhance or impede the demographic trends from which they grow. The differential rates of growth upset existing intergroup accommodations, as do changing population compositions, and each of these "results" in turn affects demographic trends. It is probably a safe generalization to say that stability in human relations, whether ethnic or otherwise, becomes increasingly difficult in a demographically unstable world.

There are many who assert that demographic growth can be brought under effective and rational human control, but at the present state of our knowledge such a possibility is so remote that it cannot be considered as an important element in our time. It is true that the reproduction process is controllable at the personal level, but the group application of that principle is not a simple direct problem in arithmetic progression. Even those peoples who appear to exercise the greatest precautions to control births at the same time are much more successful in controlling and reducing death rate and thus, impelled by the same or closely related impulses, they are working at cross purposes.

For all practical purposes, at present and into the foreseeable future, demographic growth must be accepted as lying beyond man's control. But demographic forces are not unpredictable in their operation. Careful study of population behavior reveals many uniformities and long-term trends which can be charted with a reasonable degree of accuracy, projecting past and present trends far into the future. Thus, while basic demographic forces do not lend themselves to rational controls, they may be anticipated and taken into consideration in reference to ethnic relations and other problems.

Man-made Forces. There are numerous man-made forces, presumably capable of human control, which enter into intergroup relations. Among these are the migratory, technological, organizational, ideological, scientific, and other efforts which may be grouped as "reform."

Of the forces listed, the migratory are those which are most obviously and directly related to the demographic. Migrations of peoples are man-made movements, and there is a long history of their partial control by man-made laws and edicts. The great migratory movements from Europe into the Americas have been brought under effective control, both quantitatively and qualitatively, by immigration laws. At various historic epochs and in places, the movements of peoples within a given country have been rigidly controlled. Where demographic pressures are great, efforts at control may fail or may build up tensions which eventually break down the controls. Recent efforts to control the flow of illegal immigration into the United States from Mexico would illustrate a relative failure of control measures for a variety of reasons, among which is the increasing demographic disequilibrium on the two sides of the international border.

Technology may partly offset demographic growth and differentials and may influence considerably the size and directions of human migrations. On a world scale, recent industrial and transportation developments have been an important factor in the movements of people from rural to urban areas, from region to region, and from country to country. Technology as a social force also affects class and occupational relations both between and among ethnic groups and within ethnic groups. The spread of technology has been a factor in the obsolescence of many past accommodations among racial and cultural groups. Technology, as it has developed in the past few centuries in the Western World, has had a largely unplanned growth even to the extent of being, at times and places, almost an anarchy. The national planning which has been put into effect under the stress of totalitarian war has demonstrated, however, that controlled technology is a possibility. This does not mean that such control, beyond what is already familiar to us, is desirable, but it does indicate that here is a man-made force, significant for intergroup adjustments.

The organizational aspects of human society, embedded although they are in tradition, are nevertheless possible of human analysis and of increasing control. The problems are complex and difficult, and the regimentation necessary for rational organizational control may be a price which is prohibitory in the thinking of many, but the possibility remains.

Increasingly, man is gaining control over the ideological element of his social structures. Tremendous programs of indoctrination appear to have operated with great efficiency in recent history, in changing systems of belief, and therefore of behavior. In our own culture we have chiefly the great industry of advertising as a demonstration. Abroad we have examples in the apparent effectiveness of first Nazi, then of communistic, propaganda campaigns. One need not claim for any of them complete success to recognize in them increasingly deliberate human control over human ideologies.

With its own ideology and methods of indoctrination, science is an important and growing influence in the relations among peoples. The fact that science is seldom willing to take sides in human controversies and is reluctant to accept, or lend its prestige to, "causes," in itself has helped to bring about a flexibility and fluidity of human relations which otherwise would not have been possible.

Finally, and the most deliberate of the man-made forces in the realm of intergroup relations, is the activity of reformers and reform organizations, intent upon changing for some preconceived "better" the relationships as they exist. To say this is the most deliberate of the man-made forces does not mean it is the most effective. Some reforms "succeed" and some "fail" in terms of their self-announced goals. It is probable that they have had little to do with shaping intergroup relations and are often more nearly by-products growing out of particular changes under way than directly causative, more symptoms than molders of changing accommodations.

A Note on War. From the preceding chapters it is clear that war is among the forces which at the present time and in the recent past has been importantly bound up with the changes in ethnic relations. Whether to consider war as man-controlled, since wars are obviously man-made, is a perplexing problem. With the efforts of many persons and organizations over a long period of time centered upon controlling or eliminating war, the recurrence of war and the fears of new wars are indications that as yet they are beyond deliberate human control. The very complexity of the processes which find their climax in periodical warfare has thus far baffled systematic control. There is little doubt, however, that modern "total" war has been and is one of the most potent forces in shifting intergroup and intragroup alignments, and that the future of ethnic relations is largely bound up with the relatively unpredictable force of warfare.

PROCESSES INVOLVED

The processes involved in changing ethnic relations include the usual list of the more obvious of social processes. Among them are the ecological processes, cooperation, competition, conflict, and as previously emphasized, acculturation, accommodation, assimilation, and amalgamation. To these must be added, for the long-range view, the further process of differentiation.

Ecological Processes. The ecological processes, as they are isolated from others for study, include those which have emphasized spatial setting. One may consider the relatively fixed positions of groups in terms of place of residence, which is the static aspect of human ecology. In any given area where different groups reside, the more favored groups characteristically live in what is regarded as the most favorable part of the area, the "right side of the tracks," the "gold coast," or the exclusive suburbs; while other less favored groups reside in the least favorably regarded areas, the "wrong side of the tracks," the slums, or the "areas in transition." Not only in the urban setting, from which ecological terminology has largely derived, but also in rural and even sparsely peopled desert areas, similar relationships may be described in areal terms.

More nearly related to changing patterns of relationship are the dynamic aspects of ecology, or the spatial mobility of groups. As groups change residence, both the frequency and distance of change and the direction of movement are symptom and cause of changing relations among groups. When immigrant groups, as groups, move from the slums to better residential areas, they do so because their status in the community has changed, and in turn the move further changes their relative social position. When Negroes move in large numbers from the South, new adjustment problems arise in the North and the old accommodation in the South is affected; but the movement becomes possible only because there already had been breaches in the old walls which had previously confined the Negroes. When immigrants cross international boundaries to become adjustment problems in their new homeland, and minorities living abroad from the viewpoint of the mother country, whole sets of changes in intergroup relationships are indicated and are aggravated by the movement.

Among the principal effects of increasing mobility on human relations generally is that in the direction of depersonalization. The more intimate primary relationships develop and thrive in conditions of relative immobility. When peoples are on the move, however, their contacts are more apt to be those of stranger with stranger, and adjustments among persons are those dictated by expediency of the moment.

Since most areas of the world are occupied by human inhabitants, the spatial mobility of peoples involves other space-oriented adjustments, such as are described by the terms "invasion" and "succession" as these terms are used in the study of human ecology. Most movements of ethnic groups begin with slow infiltrations into areas already occupied. If the movement continues, the presence of the alien group becomes noticeable as an invasion to those already residing in the area. This calls for adjustments by both invaders and invaded to the new situation, and if the situation is fluid, then the adjustments are apt to be unstable and changeable.

It is at this point that hostility is most apt to show itself in the form of resentment of those who feel some exclusive right to the area. Such hostility often flares into open violence, as illustrated many times in the history of American cities, when alien peoples have overflowed their designated "ghettos" into adjoining "better" neighborhoods. Often invasions of this type affect property values in the invaded district adversely, and this tends to increase the feeling of resentment against the newcomers.

Should invasion continue, eventually, in most cases, the older residents move out, at first slowly, then rapidly, finally abandoning the area to the later arrivals. This is called "succession" by ecologists. In the history of a given area, there may have been numerous examples of ethnic invasion and succession, and a whole series of accommodations of group to group in the process. Again, the clearest examples can be found in areas of cities, once occupied by the homes of the wealthy and powerful, now reduced to slum or near slum conditions. Behind each such area is a story of changing intergroup relations, usually with an ethnic implication.

Succession is a concept which may also be applied to rural areas and even to whole countries. The long history of Europe was one of countless examples of invasion and succession, sometimes on a small, at others on a large, scale. The same is true, if to a lesser extent, of the histories of other continents and their peoples.

Cooperation, Competition, Conflict. Three of the ever-present and basic processes of group life are those of cooperation, competition, and conflict. These processes take place, regardless of time or place, at the interpersonal as well as the intergroup level. They are so closely related as processes that they must be treated together for clear understanding. They are not mutually exclusive but rather invariably occur together in various combinations. The three, taken together, are always factors in changing intergroup relations. One or the other of the interrelated processes may be the most obvious in a given situation, and usually the situation and the behavior taking place are classified as being an example of that particular process.

The sociological setting of the interrelated processes is simply explained by one author: [3]

> Like opposition, cooperation arises from the orientation of the individual to the we-group and the out-group. While competition, rivalry, and conflict may arise in the we-group, it is evident that the we-group would not persist were it not for cooperation. The solidarity of the in-group is expressed most strongly through mutual aid, helpfulness, and loyalty to group-accepted symbols. Such cooperation is most in evidence when the we-group stands in sharp opposition toward some other body of persons, the out-group. As has been noted in various connections already, the very strength of the in-group feeling of solidarity rests in part upon the fact that antagonistic feelings are directed toward some out-group. The intensity of the we-group feelings seems correlated with the intensity of antagonisms to the others-group. . . .

Such a statement has obvious pertinence for relatively stable intergroup situations in which the line between we- and others-group is clearly drawn and easily recognized by persons involved. In more fluid situations, such as those in which intergroup accommodations are being broken up or supplanted, such ready identification of friend and enemy is often impossible. In such situations the whole set of processes becomes confused and unpredictable, and reactions of person to person and group to group rest largely upon impulse for which there is no clear antecedent in sociologic terms.

---

[3] Kimball Young, *Sociology,* American Book Company, New York, 1942, pp. 746–747.

The low predictability in fluid situations tends to aggravate ethnic problems. Groups which cooperate closely today may, without warning signs, be in conflict tomorrow. The apparently unprovoked attacks and uncoordinated race riots which punctuate race and cultural relations are largely symptomatic of the instability of social alignments in the absence of relatively clear lines of accommodation between and among groups.

Accommodation. The processes of accommodation, assimilation, amalgamation, and acculturation have been discussed in some detail and need only be recalled here as basic processes when unlike groups come into and remain in contact. These are the general processes most specifically characteristic of ethnic relations. Throughout the preceding chapters, emphasis has been largely upon accommodation, for this term describes the point at which the process of adjustment rests at any given time. It is apparent now that, although some accommodations have been stable and have lasted for long periods of time, no intergroup accommodation is perpetual. The stability of any accommodation is relative, which means that there is some instability in any working relationship between or among groups. Certainly no accommodation of the present, or borrowed from the past, can be the ultimate resting place of ethnic relations. Only in the imaginative eventual culmination of the assimilative process by complete amalgamation can any intergroup relations be considered entirely resolved, and they are then resolved because intergroup relations no longer exist.

While thus complete assimilation may be considered, as it is by some, as the ultimate answer to all ethnic problems either in a restricted area or globally, the history of such problems indicates that this is not true. Another ever-present process in human life, that of differentiation, is also a factor. Just as peoples tend, through assimilation, to become more alike, they also, through differentiation, develop new differences. The reference is only in part to the biological processes of race mixture which brings about new types as well as breaking down old differences, but also to the much more rapid process of social and cultural differentiation.

Social Differentiation. The history of ethnic groups, whether racial or cultural, or a confusion of the two, is the story of how their differences came into being. Differentiation is a continuing process in the life of all large groups. A case in point is the American Indian, whose history illustrates both biological and cultural trends over a period of several millennia.

If interpretations of students of the Amerindian are correct, within the span of time since the rise of the great civilizations of Egypt and Asia Minor, the Amerindians have moved into the American continent from Asia and have become a distinguishable subrace. During the same period, they have developed a wide range of physiological variations within the subrace in the adjustments to the environments of the American continents. Within a briefer span, they have subdivided into a large number of cultural groups, which have become different in language, in mode of life, and in stage of cultural development, so that at the time of first European contacts with them, they already were, in effect, a number of different peoples showing contrasts among themselves.

The people of European descent now resident of the United States have become a somewhat distinctive culture group in a much shorter span of time, welding together cultural elements from many homelands and indigenous elements borrowed from the Indians. While closely related to and sharing many of the attributes of Western civilization, and more especially of the Anglo-Saxon culture, Americans of today nevertheless are recognizable in their deviations from other traditional culture groups.

So long as peoples think in ethnic terms, the differentials which arise among them will tend to be characterized as ethnic differences, just as have been the historic differences which already existed at the beginning of the present era. Thus, while assimilative processes eliminate, through time, some of the old distinctions, new ones apparently are always arising to take their places.

MAJOR CONSIDERATIONS

The interpretations of the problems presented by ethnic difference have varied with time and among peoples. At one time the differences were thought of largely as those between the few civilized "chosen people" and the world of "barbarians." At another it was the difference between master and slave, and at another between true believers and infidels. More recently there have been, at least within our own culture, the rise of racism and the interpretation of ethnic cleavages in terms of the "superior" and "inferior" races of man. Superseding, somewhat, all these interpretations has been the more recent one which is largely in terms of the nationalistic ideology, currently supplemented by emphasis upon the democratic, or free peoples, versus the communistic and the dictatorially ruled. Older interpretations have tended to be submerged beneath the new, but remnants of them persist, so that some aspects of all these previous interpretations remain in various particular situations.

Considerations of Survival. Recent threats of world conquest, which have come out of two World Wars and the uneasy peace since, have brought to the fore considerations of cultural and national survival as principal components of current problems of race and culture relations. Both the lines of division in the world of today and the shifting alliances in world affairs are aspects of this definition of the problem. In addition, each national group is looking increasingly to its own internal unity where there are actual or potential conflicts among racial or cultural groups within the nation.

Group Survival. The problem of cultural survival for the major culture groups has as its immediate aspect the international political alignments, but underlying, undoubtedly, are the major demographic trends and the rise of nationalism in parts of the world where it had previously been absent or weak. In this regard one need not conjure up "race wars" to see that numerical balance is increasingly unfavorable to the peoples of traditional Western civilization, especially those of Anglo-Saxon heritage. On the other hand, technological efficiency has given them the position of leadership and cultural dominance. The technology of Western civilization, however, is decreasingly a monopoly of a few peoples and is tending to become world-wide; other culture elements, while penetrating other culture groups, usually lag somewhat behind the material aspects of Western cultures.

Within the United States, especially, there remains a heritage of culture and racial conflict which is somewhat disruptive of group cohesion. It is true that the problems of assimilation presented by the great floods of immigrants from Europe have become largely resolved with time, leaving only limited and local adjustments to run their course. Where the color line is involved, there is still stubborn resistance to complete assimilation, although successive accommodations of recent years have tended to weaken barriers and to give a wider range of cultural participation to minority racial groups. At the same time new problems, on a considerable scale, are arising from the rapid growth of new types of immigration, more especially that from Mexico which not only presents difficulties of internal adjustment but tends to keep up tension between Mexico and the United States.

The problem of cultural survival exists at various levels. In its broadest sense, cultural survival is the crux of the survival of humanity, since man is inescapably a cultural animal. At this level, if we disregard ethnocentric evaluations, it is not the matter of the survival of any particular culture which is significant, for many existing cultures may fail to survive. But even in thinking of humanity, survival must be in the context of the universal life conditions which were previously noted, those of diversity and change. It would appear that in that context, cultural diversity is a condition of human survival, and in that diversity there must be adaptability, or the ability to change, as shifting life circumstances may require.

At another level, that is, from the viewpoint of each culture group, the problem is one of survival of its particular culture. This is a much more realistic and immediate problem for most peoples of the world. At this level, too, for each culture that does survive the characteristics of diversity within the culture and changeability would seem to be vital, but even these would not, of themselves, be enough to guarantee survival in present and probable future circumstances. The decline of isolationism in this country was in part a recognition of the fact that no longer is any group sufficient of and by itself, and this would seem to apply to ethnic as well as to national groupings. Increasingly larger entities which encompass several nations or several ethnic groups appear to be the prerequisite to self-preservation of any of them. This is a realm in which man has become adept through centuries of experimentation in so far as the political alignments are concerned, but in which he is still groping in so far as more meaningful ethnic adjustments are taken into consideration. In intergroup political arrangements, authorized persons may speak for and bind groups, but racial and cultural groups, as such, have no such formalized delegations of power.

Personality Aspects. The development of cultural anthropology and social psychology has brought clearly into the focus of modern scientific thought the close relationship of culture to personality. The individual personality is a cultural derivative at the same time that the culture at any given time resides in the appropriate personalities of its group members. Cultures have embedded in them the mechanisms by which group members are socialized and thus become carriers of the culture. The socialization processes of no culture are perfect, and some failure in personality development is normal; but if a culture fails to too great an extent in this regard, the culture itself is doomed. Thus cultural survival is not only a phase of a competitive intergroup situation, but it also is an intracultural problem for every culture group.

Various intergroup situations have a bearing upon cultural efficiency in producing adequately integrated personalities. One of these is a situation in which a cultural group is so rigidly subordinated to other culture groups that its members have only limited and fragmentary cultural participation, and thus become "warped" personalities. Thus slaves lose their cultural identity as a culture group and become inadequate replicas of the members of the dominant culture group. Another situation is one in which intergroup accommodations are shifting, uncertain, and unstable. Under such conditions the instability of the situation tends to be duplicated in instability in the personalities of group members. A dominant culture, or an isolated one, may become too rigid to meet the condition of cultural as of biological life, "change or die." The personality products of such a condition are overrigid personalities and personality types.

Any large group composed of numerous ethnic subgroups, as are most of the major national groups of the world today, thus has within itself numerous problems of internal adjustments which bear upon the adequacy of its people as culture carriers.

> The same dynamic processes which occasion the breakdown of group consensus and produce social disorganization also disorganize the individual. Caught in the maelstrom of social tensions and disruptions, many individuals have lost their perspective, their sense of balance, their interest in life itself. These disorganized individuals produce further social disorganization in so far as their anti-social or ineffective conduct represents deviations from the norm. Individual and social disorganization operate in a vicious circle. Personal and social disorganization are dual aspects of the same process. Each disorganized individual affects other individuals and in so doing produces social disorganization. No one lives in a social vacuum and each must inevitably influence others. . . .[4]

Much of the study of ethnic relations in the United States in recent years has centered in the personality aspects of ethnic relations, usually as they impinge upon the members of minority ethnic groups. Apparently the personal disorganization incident to ethnic disequilibrium presents a kind of vicious circle, in which the personality problems aggravate the ethnic situations from which they stem and tend to make for increased intergroup tensions, which in turn magnify personal maladjustments.

The personality aspect of ethnic relations serves to help us keep in mind that, whatever else, the problem of ethnic relations is a problem of human beings with all that implies. Purely theoretical resolutions of the problem may be useful as guides but cannot of themselves dispose of the human element, always complex and always an active and dynamic ingredient of the situation, rather than a passive one to be molded and bent as scientific or other knowledge might indicate. There is sufficient truth behind the proverb that one man's meat is another man's poison, in the realm of intergroup relations as elsewhere, to make the wisest of students of human problems cautious.

---

[4] Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1941, rev. ed., p. 61.

Cultural Marginality. Fluidity in ethnic boundaries and relations brings about conditions which produce marginal persons in the cultural sense. These are the persons who are at once exposed to the value systems and life ways of two or more cultures, absorbing portions of both, but therefore poorly adapted to the acceptance of or control by either. As previously noted, the concept of marginality arose from the study of the assimilative process of American immigrants. The conditions which then applied in restricted areas and to limited groups are now tending to become worldwide and to affect all people. It might be said, with some truth, that all persons under present world conditions are somewhat marginal.

This would seem to indicate that some degree of ethnocentrism, even though it blinds people to some of the realities of human life, may be necessary to preserve the integrity of group members. Just as ethnocentrism serves to identify the person with the group at an emotional level, it also has its exclusive aspect which protects the person from the intrusion of foreign influences which are inconsistent with a given way of life and set of attitudes. The true "cultural snob," while he may be hard on other people, is usually a well-adjusted and well-integrated personality for whom life has a definite meaning and worth-whileness.

The Problem Stated. As nearly as the problem of ethnic relations can be summed up briefly, avoiding ethnocentric value judgments, it is for all peoples similar in broad outlines. On the one hand it is a problem of cultural survival under conditions of increasingly insistent ethnic group contacts, and on the other a matter of personality development of group members. The two aspects can easily be combined, for cultural survival is meaningless unless the culture has value for persons; and the culture can survive only so long as it produces personalities capable of carrying on the culture heritage.

If one thinks of the Indian pueblo in the semidesert Southwest, one can see there the issue sharply focused. These pueblos have maintained cultural integrity for many centuries, often under adverse conditions. The World Wars have taken the young people away from the pueblos and their influences, returning them often as changed persons. This has meant an obvious crisis for the pueblo leaders bent upon preserving their culture, and a personal crisis for each of the returned young people.

In another scene, affecting much larger population units, observers are agreed that the old Chinese culture, with its long history, has undergone a recent crisis which, if it has not destroyed it altogether, has greatly changed it. This has not been done without its disturbing effects, often violent, on the personalities of millions of people.

What culture crises may be ahead for Western peoples and those of the United States, it is, at our state of knowledge, difficult to foresee with clarity. We are peoples whose whole cultural systems are geared to change, but there are also limits to the changes which can be made without destruction of the essentials of our cultural ways of life. A clarification of our position in a world of diverse races and cultures, as well as of our own internal problems of adjustment, is a necessary prelude to bringing ethnic impacts under a greater degree of control than now exists.

IDEOLOGICAL COMPLICATIONS

Thus to state the problem of ethnic adjustments in basic terms lends clarity but does not dispose of the ideological complications that continue to arise. While ideological rationalizations need not be accepted by critical students, they nevertheless are stubborn facts which complicate any solutions in terms of more adequate controls. A little word magic can obscure the most rational approach to any problem of human relations. Because of the symbolic content of every culture, the manipulation of symbols is as important as any other overt behavior.

Examples of recent significance, especially in the culture conflicts which have involved Oriental peoples, have been the uses of such terms as "appeasement" and "saving face." Each of these terms has come to carry such a cluster of associated ideas and feelings that objective analysis or definition of the terms as they relate to normal social contacts and processes serves no particular purpose. Any adjustment short of domination by brute force may be labeled appeasement, and any of the very human devices in everyday use in interpersonal and intergroup relations, short of direct insult, may be labeled "face saving." Both devices may indicate weak policy or may indicate wise policy, depending upon situational factors. Neither is to be condemned wholly and outright without regard for other considerations and factors. Yet currently, both have become emotionally weighted terms which tend to preclude careful analysis or thought.

Effects on Problem. The ideological and semantic complications which enter into ethnic problems make them much more difficult, but they are not unusual phenomena to social scientists who have come to expect them as normal parts of every problem of human relations. Whether it is in the realm of familial relations, labor relations, community organization, or elsewhere in the social structure, the apparently rational description of the problems involved must recognize existing and deeply rooted ideological elements. Thus scientific controls of processes involved must be based, in part, on a clear understanding of human thought processes. At this point, again, ethnic problems are brought within the general framework of all social problems.

By their very nature, ideologies are nonrational elements in human behavior, susceptible, as indicated previously, to a degree of deliberate human control, but not by simple and direct methods. As they bear upon intergroup relations, their roots are cultural, which means that in individual thought processes they have reinforcement from without, since others share them and they represent some degree of consensus. To reject or oppose them is to go against the group with all the subtle discomforts and penalties implied.

SUMMARY

Definition of the problem of ethnic relations in terms of the universals which studies of such relationships in various settings and periods reveal brings the problem well within the framework of present sociological theory. Racial and cultural relations are characterized by diversity and change, as are all social phenomena; they lend themselves to no explanation in simple cause and effect terms but rather show every indication of complex multiple interactions among many forces and trends, all of which are to some extent both cause and effect of all others. This is a level upon which sociologists are accustomed to deal, and it makes of ethnic relations an integral part of the whole complex of social problems.

There are many immediate and limited considerations in every situation in which ethnic conflicts appear, but the most significant aspect of such conflicts is their bearing upon cultural survival, both at the level of all humanity with its complete dependence upon culture and at the level of each particular culture group. There is also a close linkage between culture and personality, so that the relations among culture groups, both in their static aspects at a given point of time and in their dynamic aspect of changing accommodations, have a bearing on personal integrity and the welfare of members of culture groups. Culture survival and personal well-being are thus phases of the same problem, which is the most vital of all the problems in the field of ethnic relations.

So to recognize the ethnic relations problem as one of cultural survival and of the development of adequate personalities may serve as a guide in efforts to bring ethnic relations under a greater degree of rational control. The theoretical solution of the ethnic problem, however, is still confronted by the ideological element, which is the nonrational "human" element ever-present in dealing with the interactions among human beings. While much has been done to bring ideologies under a degree of deliberate rational control, the approach to such an undertaking is never simple and direct.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How does the concept of diversity enter into the problem of cultural survival?
2. "Societies must change or die." What is the significance of this for cultural relations?
3. What forces, not susceptible to deliberate human control, are linked with changing ethnic relations?
4. What forces, apparently controllable by man, are a part of the problem of ethnic relations?
5. At what different levels does the problem of cultural survival exist?
6. How do racial and cultural relations among peoples affect personalities?
7. From the personality standpoint, are any useful functions served by ethnocentrism?
8. What is the special significance of ideologies in connection with controlling ethnic relations?
9. Why do shared cultural ideologies have especially strong holds on individual thought processes?
10. Why are ideals of abstract justice, human equality, and human "brotherhood" inadequate as guides to the nature of the problem of ethnic relations?

SUGGESTED READINGS

BURTT, H. E., *Psychology of Advertising,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1938.

CHASE, STUART, *The Tyranny of Words,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1938.

DAI, B., "Personality Problems in Chinese Culture," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 6, 1941, pp. 688–696.

DAVIS, A., and J. DOLLARD, *Children of Bondage,* American Council for Education, Washington, D.C., 1940.

FREEMAN, E., *Conquering the Man in the Street*, Vanguard Press, New York, 1940.

HATT, P., "Class and Ethnic Attitudes," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 13, pp. 36–43.

LINTON, RALPH, *The Cultural Background of Personality,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1945.

MACIVER, R. M., *Social Causation,* Ginn & Company, Boston, 1942.

MEAD, MARGARET, *The Changing Culture of the Indian Tribe,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1932.

PLANT, J. S., *Personality and the Culture Pattern*, Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publication, New York, 1937.

THOMPSON, W. S., *Plenty of People,* The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1948.

WALTER, PAUL A. F., JR., *The Social Sciences,* D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., New York, 1949, Chaps. I–III.

CHAPTER 22

POLICY AND PERFORMANCE

POLICIES for meeting the problems which grow out of ethnic relations exist at all levels, from the world-wide to the local community and neighborhood; and they vary from those which call for intensive action to those of deliberated inaction. That there should be a wide range of policies is inevitable considering the extent to which all intergroup relationships are cut across by or coincide with the racial and cultural divisions of mankind. As the previous chapter has indicated, this intrusion of ethnic problems upon various areas of life is aggravated by the continuous growth of human population in a limited world, and the increasing mobility of individuals and groups.

It would be, in a sense, irrelevant to plead that the extent of scientific knowledge of human relations is as yet inadequate for wise and sound policy formation, since situations abound which call for decisions, and there must be guides for the selection of alternatives even though such guides may not stand critical scientific scrutiny. The world cannot wait the decades or generations which may be required for the accumulation of greater and more precise understanding of the roots of human motivations.

The Nature of Policy. Policy in any realm has several essential components. Among these are ends to be achieved—ends which may be clearly or dimly defined. There must be a selection of means to achieve the ends. And, human beings being what they are, there must be rationalizations both for the ends and for the means which are chosen. The selection of means includes some form of organization, existent or projected, to have the responsibility for carrying out policy, and some idea of resources to be drawn upon in implementing the program.

The ends in social policy, exemplified by plans to improve ethnic relations, are necessarily multiple, with long-range, immediate, and intermediate goals in mind. For this reason there is overlapping of means and ends, for the immediate ends are often means to achieve intermediate goals, which, in turn, become means in relation to more distant objectives. Thus, the establishment of a commission to study ethnic problems in a community may be an immediate end, but also a means to reducing friction among groups. This reduction of friction may be both an intermediate goal and the means for the prevention of future race riots, a more distant goal. The entire project may be viewed as a means to the ultimate end of establishing justice and human brotherhood in community relations.

Confusions, inconsistencies, and disagreement among policy makers may well arise in the complex of multiple ends and of means and ends. Most usually some policy makers would advance rapidly toward more removed goals, others preferring to move slowly and concentrate upon the immediate objectives. Thus, even when there is general agreement on ends, in application the carrying out of policy involves compromise as a seemingly necessary ingredient.

Further problems in relation to ends may arise from the fact that in social policy some ends are openly recognized and stated, others may be hidden. Some who engage in policy making or execution may be self-seekers having in mind the publicity and prominence to be gained by their activity. Others may have a property stake in the removal of a particular threat to peaceful community life. A great variety of interests, unstated, may be involved in any considerable campaign directed against social problems.

Selection of Means. The selection of means must take place within the rather limited scope allowed for experimentation in human relations. In every culture group there are deeply rooted mores which policy makers must recognize and to which their programs must conform. Among a people strongly conditioned to the "color line" policies having to do with race relations must stop short of endangering that line. In communities which are strongly biased in religion, policy cannot successfully include tolerance for other religions. Where excessive cultural value is placed upon formal education, every policy, to gain support, must include education among the means to be used.

Both ends and means tend to reflect cultural values and, therefore, to be recurrent within given culture groups. Effective rationalizations of policies are those which appeal to the cultural values preexisting within a group, and in those groups with considerable inconsistency of values, successful rationalizations must vary and in themselves contain inconsistencies. Thus a program to improve ethnic relations may variously be justified as "applied Christianity," "practical democracy," a measure to safeguard public health, and "good business." Each justification is aimed to convince a different group of potential supporters.

KINDS OF POLICY

The kinds of policy directed at the solution of seemingly unsatisfactory ethnic relations are relatively few, although in details there may be much greater variation. All policies could be classed under two headings: those which are directed at maintaining the *status quo* at a given time or place, and those which are directed at changing the *status quo*. The former type of policy may be either deliberately to do nothing, or, in cases where there is an apparent threat to the *status quo,* to reinforce existing controls and taboos. Among the policies aimed at changing the *status quo* a prominent place must also be given to the deliberate policy of doing nothing, in this case with the expectation that "things will take care of themselves." Other policies designed to change the *status quo* have included, from time to time and place to place, that of extermination of an ethnic group, the voluntary or enforced movement of a group from one place to another, stratification in which one group is dominant over another or others, either rapid or slow assimilation of minority groups, or the policy of cultural "pluralism" in which various ethnic groups retain their identity but live together on the basis of equality.

Action Programs. Policies which aim at action to change the *status quo* include those calling for immediate action and those calling for delayed or indirect action. The former insist upon doing something, and doing it at once. The underlying assumption is that we have enough knowledge at our command, both as to ends to be achieved and as to methods of achievement, to proceed directly to the alteration of existing inequities and strains, and the establishment in their place of more desirable interracial and intercultural situations. A subdivision within this category may be made into those action policies which would attack overt discriminations with the expectation that the causes of such discriminations would correct themselves as a result. The reliance is in demonstration that other than existing arrangements are both possible and desirable. The other subdivision would include those action programs which would first remove the supposed causes, with the expectation that discriminations and hostilities would then cease. Usually the cause is seen in prejudice so that the policy is directed at correcting antagonistic and unrealistic biases.

The delayed-action programs seek to achieve the same ends as the action policies, but by indirect rather than direct means and, by implication, over a period of time. An example would be the program of the late Booker T. Washington, Negro leader. He advocated as a long-run means of removing prejudices against the Negro in this country, self-improvement by the Negroes educationally and in skills to the point where they would win the respect of whites, and he envisioned this program as one which would take many generations to become wholly effective. Other examples may be found in the various colonial empires where "enlightened" policies have prevailed. Under such policies, the ruling whites regarded the subjugated peoples as charges and responsibilities, to be gradually educated and civilized to prepare them for eventual self-sustenance and self-government in a modern world.

A special form of the delayed-action policy is that which is based upon the assumption that we do not have, as yet, the requisite knowledge for effective and sound action programs. It would first encourage detached research in order to discover the facts upon which sound policy might be constructed. Those who support this view presume that a time will come when the sciences of human relations and human behavior will be able to give clearer guidance than now to the shaping and direction of human affairs.

Inaction. The policy of inaction places emphasis upon the importance of not "rocking the boat." It accepts any working accommodation as preferable to a disturbed accommodation and works on the principle that anything done to change ethnic relations simply calls greater attention to racial and cultural differences and therefore defeats its own purpose. The thinking often includes the expectation that if things are let alone, they will work themselves out in time.

In any extended discussion of the problems of ethnic relations, all these policies will be advocated and have support. Each has its own logic, and each, probably, conceals as many motives as it reveals. A similar situation could be found where and when other social problems are in the focus of attention.

A confusing element in the analysis of particular programs for the betterment of intergroup relations is that the various policies are not mutually exclusive but tend, rather, to overlap. This is due, in part, to the necessity for compromise among various viewpoints, and partly in the shifts in situations themselves which affect the apparent urgency of action. Preventive action in an emergency may be a means to keeping things as they are until "they can work themselves out." Immediate-action programs may be combined with research in a single program. And various other combinations of elements of various policies may be found.

Evaluation of Policies. In the evaluation of policies in the field of ethnic relations there are two extremes to be avoided. The one is that of prejudging all policy as futile or even mischievous. Such a viewpoint is tempting to many of the various types of determinists who would minimize man's active role in the conduct of his affairs. It is obvious that no constructive advance in terms either of meeting problems or of gaining greater knowledge and insight can result from such an attitude; and man, being human, is a doer and a planner, regardless of the logics of the relatively detached few.

At the other extreme is the quest for or acceptance of panaceas for human ills, the supposed cure-alls which minimize the complexity of human group life. The panacea has a wider appeal than does the philosophy of rejection of all policies. The type of panacea varies with cultural groups and is related to cultural values of such groups. In our own culture there are numerous panaceas which are apt to be accepted uncritically by many people, most prominent among them being formal education and the adoption of laws. That formal education can bring about significant and anticipated changes in ethnic relations directly and of itself is doubtful, just as it is equally doubtful that enactment of another law can have such an effect. However, this does not mean that both formal education and the enactment of laws cannot aid indirectly and in conjunction with each other and other devices in provoking desired changes. Both have their place, but within the context of the variety of forces and factors operative in any social situation.

A middle position between the extremes offers the possibility for sound evaluation of policies. From what has been said in previous chapters, it is clear that any long-run policy must contain the amount of flexibility implied by the inevitability of social change and should, as nearly as possible, anticipate such change. Similarly, policies, it would seem, should aim at the preservation of sufficient cultural variety both among and within groups to facilitate trial-and-error adjustment to change. Cultural rigidity would appear to be inimicable to survival regardless of how well it might be adapted to a particular time and place.

From the scientific standpoint, it would seem that policies should be formed with due regard not only for the store of knowledge now available in the sciences of human behavior but also for the present limitations, including those reflected in the divergence of opinions among and within these sciences. At the same time it should be noted that policies which would pass the careful scrutiny of scientists in all regards would probably have little appeal for those who are anxious and eager to "do something."

The sciences of human behavior are, at best, continuous approximations to knowledge and understanding. They do not now, nor may they ever, have the precise, final answers to many complex questions of human behavior. It is in the nature of science to be tentative in its conclusions and cautious in prediction, which makes decision and action difficult. Because of the prestige of science, many policies in the field of ethnic relations as elsewhere have attached to them some "research," but few can delay execution until great amounts of intricate research have been carefully made and evaluated. In fact, even among research foundations and agencies in the human behavior fields the emphasis has been chiefly on "demonstration" and only secondarily upon research.

Perhaps, at the present time, the greatest contribution of science to the evaluation of social policy is to discriminate between forces as yet beyond human deliberated control, where the best policy is to conform to foreseeable trends, and to those which can be directed, even though to a limited extent. The forces of population growth and the spread of nationalism as an ideology appear at present to lie outside the realm of deliberate controls and must therefore be anticipated and recognized as conditions within which present and future intergroup relations must be worked out. On the other hand the process of socialization of children and the manipulation of some ideological components are rapidly coming under potential expert control. Existing scientific knowledge of cultural variability and cultural relativity suggest possibilities of collective self-guidance which previously were closed, as we have come increasingly to realize that human nature has a plasticity that was previously denied in many philosophies and in earlier stages of scientific development.

Comparative Studies. For practical purposes there are numerous comparative studies of various ethnic policies applied under reasonably parallel circumstances which can be of some help in the evaluation of them. In connection with such studies there are the kinds of difficulties of evaluation which have been discussed above: the multiplicity of ends and consequences, the difficulty of ascribing results to policies rather than to the operation of uncontrolled forces, and others. Often there is the additional difficulty in knowing precisely what a policy has been, as distinct from its rationalizations and inexact statements of results. Some examples of comparisons which may be made, drawn from previous chapters, would include:

The "color line" policies in the United States in dealing with Negroes, as contrasted with the lack of such a "line" in Brazil. In this case the physical and cultural settings must be considered as significant sets of variables.

The fairly definite colonial policies of England as contrasted with those of other European nations which have been or are colonial powers. In such a comparison, differences in ends as well as means should be considered, as well as the political philosophies and traditions of the nations compared, the periods of colonization, and the demographic factors involved.

The various current immigration policies of the United States toward various peoples—the quota nations, the excluded "races," and the nations, notably American, not under quota controls. The contrasts between peoples, such as Canadians and Mexicans, both under the same general policy, tend to take attention from policies and their efficacy and to direct it to more basic considerations.

The comparison of various governmental policies toward Amerindians in the United States. Here the wide discrepancies to be found at times between official policy and its administration in the field tend to obscure evaluation.

Numerous other comparisons in this and other parts of the world might be suggested, but in each case the difficulties of clear-cut appraisal would be encountered.

CHANGE AND POLICY

Since change is one of the inescapable conditions of human group life, the recognition of change would appear to be a component of sound social policy. Many policies which might be characterized as utopian apparently overlook the fact of continuous and perpetual change. The very notion of Utopia is one of a fixed eventual societal arrangement which, once having been achieved, would remain the ideal condition in an unchanging world.

A case in point is an Ohio town not far from a large industrial city. The particular town prided itself on having been, far back in history, a "station" on the "underground railroad" through which slaves were helped to escape from the South. Many of the freed slaves remained in the town, and against a background of traditional tolerance something resembling an ideal ethnic situation was developed. There was a minimum of segregation and discrimination. White members of the community were on friendly terms with Negroes and interfamilial as well as community relationships developed stability over a period of many generations. A leading lawyer of the town was a Negro and had among his clients leading white citizens. A leading surgeon of the community was a Negro woman, and she was preferred by numerous white families for her superior skill. In regard to the types of problems which plague many other American communities, the town was singularly fortunate. But the ethnic arrangement lacked flexibility; it was built on a policy which did not anticipate change as an element of community life.

With the Second World War, the neighboring industrial city expanded rapidly, drawing upon various sources for labor for its industries. Like other northern industrial cities, it drew many Negroes from the rural South. Housing was short, and there was an overflow from the city into neighboring communities, among them the one which had developed such an ideal ethnic equilibrium. The few new Negro residents coming from the industrial city created an immediate and serious problem. They were not like the older Negro residents of the community, having come from a contrasting environment. They did not fit. The older Negro residents sensed in the newer arrivals a threat to their own favored condition and rejected them; the police found the new Negroes a troublesome problem because they did not conform to the town patterns of behavior. The matter came to a head when the barbers of the town, long accustomed to serving the town's own Negroes, refused to serve the new Negroes. This brought sharp division within a community steeped in its proud traditions of tolerance. The crisis grew from the very rigidity of the previous solution to the ethnic problem involved.

The anticipation of social change in the abstract calls for flexibility in plans and attitudes, and such flexibility, in turn, is a factor in bringing change about. Change which is highly predictable may, itself, become the basis of clear-cut policy, and thus serve to channelize change to some extent. But the changes which bear upon ethnic relations are complex, as has been indicated, and the very degrees of their complexity baffles efforts at precise prediction. They may come from almost any direction—in economic affairs, in political alignments, in international relations, in technological advancements, in a more rapid or slower rate of urbanization—or from several directions at once. This is the dilemma of man, always, in the deliberate guidance of his future affairs. It is a question whether the devices for accurate prediction or the complexity of forces in operation increase the more rapidly.

POLICY AND DIVERSITY

Closely related to the fact of social change and equally significant for man's cultural survival is the fact of cultural diversity. Dreams of a single world culture are utopian, in the sense that they would destroy the mechanism of cultural change and therefore preclude change as a factor in human life or greatly limit its possibilities. That such dreams are so far from realization that they have no immediate pertinence for policy at the world level is true, but at lower and more restricted levels they have considerable bearing.

If cultural variation, and therefore variability, are desirable generally, it is probably equally valid to assume that they are desirable within nations and within communities. The principle itself can be supported in terms of the logic of evolutionary processes, but the application in deliberate policies is often difficult. The processes of assimilation and standardization are themselves inexorable, and only in part do they appear amenable to deliberate controls. This we have seen in the development of a somewhat uniform American culture from many component cultures. At the same time there are equally potent processes making for differentiation where previous uniformity existed. Both sets of processes may be seen in operation in any community over a period of time.

Deliberate efforts to preserve a particular culture, where they have been made, have usually resulted in the preservation of its more picturesque outer trappings while the substance has disappeared. When this happens, there is quasi deviation serving as a thin veneer for actual standardization. In terms of the survival value lying in diversity, nothing of significance has been accomplished.

Thus, as in the case of change, the necessity for diversity can serve only as the broadest kind of guide for policy in ethnic relations. Since intergroup misunderstandings and conflict are always possible and even probable where ethnic contrasts and differences exist and since protective isolation for cultures becomes less possible with the passage of time, the problem takes the form embodied in the question: How much cultural variation can there be without such variation in itself becoming a threat to human survival? One answer is that all peoples must become increasingly alike in some regards but may remain different in others. Thus all peoples might become literate and increasingly so, but there could still be many languages. There might be a general level of living in terms of material goods and benefits without destroying a variety of cultural values regarding particular goods. While such a view has a certain appeal, in application it, too, presents difficulties. Christians feel that eventually all people should be Christians. Economists of whatever persuasion—capitalistic, socialistic, communistic—feel that eventually human welfare will be best served if one economic ideology and system prevails. Statesmen of various political systems feel that the whole world must eventually be attached to a single political ideology. Educators would move in the direction of universal educational standards and goals. Moralists would see a uniform system of marriage and family relationships for all peoples. In combination, these and other similar aims narrow down the possibilities of cultural diversity almost to the vanishing point and certainly would relegate it to those aspects of culture which have the least significance for the general problem of human survival.

At the world level, this is not as yet a realistic threat to cultural diversity, although conceivably in time it might become one. It is at the community level that it is found to be a much more acute and immediate problem. The pressures for standardization in various aspects of cultural life are there real and ever-present. While differentiation is found also at the community level and everywhere, it is a fragmentary kind of differentiation and does not produce complete or near complete culture systems.

Only if one thinks that a single existent culture has all the answers necessary to human survival, or that some conceivable single culture could be so endowed, can the type of policy aimed at shaping all peoples in a single cultural mold be adequate.

LEVELS OF POLICY

The ideal for social experimentation would be a small group capable of rigid control and intensive observation, as a group of children in a psychological laboratory. The conditions for such experimentation, however, are so far removed from the complex of variables and conditions within which ethnic relations actually occur as to be relatively useless in solving intergroup problems. For most policy purposes, life must be taken as it is found, the degree of control in a scientific sense is relatively small, and usually close observation over long periods is impossible.

Policies exist at all levels of human life. The United Nations has and, before it, the League of Nations had world-wide policies bearing upon ethnic relations. Proselytizing churches have long had policies transcending group and national boundaries, and in some cases envisioning world conversion to a single religion with the implication of an eventual "brotherhood of man." In execution, such world policies usually have concentrated on particular areas and groups, and at no time yet has there been a policy which has been effective on a world scale.

The present lack of feasibility of effective policy on a world scale is due to a number of obvious reasons. One has to do with the absence of an adequate policy-executing authority. Another is the relative inaccessibility of many parts of the earth. Others would include the great complexity of intergroup relations on such a large scale, with as yet little understanding of many peoples of cultures which contrast with those of Western civilization. Some results can be and are being gained in ever wider areas with attacks upon particular and limited problems. such as that of illiteracy and the control of disease, but such problems bear only indirectly and in oblique ways on ethnic relations themselves.

On a lesser scale, there have been numerous examples of two or a few nations attacking problems tangent to racial and cultural relations, with some degree of success of a segmentary kind. An example would be the agreement between the Japanese government and the United States under which migration of Japanese workers was brought under control. Another would be the various agreements between the United States and Mexico regarding treatment of migrant workers from Mexico in the United States. On an even larger scale, and affecting more aspects of ethnic relations, have been the colonial policies of various nations which have clearly defined relations between the colonizing and the native peoples.

Policy effectiveness has been greater, generally speaking, on the national level, since nations often have the organization and authority to put policies into effect. Numerous examples have already been given of various policies of the United States, such as the limitation and control of immigration, the emancipation of Negro slaves, and the various Indian policies. Educational policies of many nations have been related to the ethnic make-up of the people, at times to force a single educational pattern on all groups, at others to preserve certain cultural features of minorities.

Local Policies. There are many levels within nations at which ethnic relations have been the objects, direct or indirect, of policies. In our own nation there have been state policies, including those which have resulted in state laws limiting the rights of aliens and those prohibiting interracial marriage, as well as more recent Fair Employment laws. Regional policies have been put into effect by various agencies from time to time, as exemplified by the Freedman's Bureau following the War between the States, having governmental sanction for its operation. Various private agencies and foundations have concentrated on education and other programs for Negroes of the South.

The most effective policies have been those carried out at the level of communities and neighborhoods aimed at discriminatory practices and at supplying facilities for minority groups. These have been promulgated by churches, civic groups, and other private organizations, and in some cases by city governments. The principal difficulty of local policies is usually the high mobility of people, especially when policies require considerable time for realization.

Coordination of Policies. Because of the variety of levels of policy making, there has always been a need for coordination of policies at various levels. This is never easy to achieve, since the interests and concerns vary with levels. A national policy which is suited to apparent needs of one community may go counter to those of another. Rigid control of labor immigration from Mexico may appear sound as a national policy but may be felt as little short of disastrous for particular communities dependent upon a plentiful supply of cheap harvest labor at particular times.

Lacking effective coordination there has been, as would be expected, considerable working at cross purposes in ethnic policies, not only in this country but elsewhere in the world. Confusion of aims and means as among various levels would seem to be unavoidable but can be reduced progressively, at least among areas where the same general cultural values prevail. Under time of national emergency, as in the case of war, it is probably easier to bring about the necessary agreement in policy at various levels since one or a few values, such as national self-preservation or winning the war, can be made to prevail over the scores of other considerations.

To the extent that science can provide common valid understanding of the factors in intergroup relations, this too can assist in bringing about a higher degree of coordination, although with the time lag which usually exists between scientific findings in the field of human relations and their application in policy and action programs.

PERFORMANCE

There is little material which bears directly upon performance as demonstrable or measurable results of social policies. Those who are most interested in performance are usually those who are committed emotionally either favorably or in opposition to the policies, and their judgments are apt to reflect such biases. Where some aspects of performance can be measured, as the changing number of immigrants admitted to a country under different policies, other effects escape such precise evaluation. There seems little reason to question that the quota laws brought a decline in the volume of European immigration into this country, yet figures of the years immediately preceding the enactment of the laws showed that notable changes were under way in the migratory flow before the laws were passed. We can measure the decline in numbers entering the United States, but what part of that decline was due to the policy, what part to other influences and forces?

One reason why it is difficult to describe performance under specific social policies lies in the multiple nature of goals and the almost invariable occurrence of unforeseen consequences. Is performance to be measured in terms of immediate or distant goals, or those which are intermediate? Supporters of a policy may insist that performance is clearly indicated in terms of the immediate goals, while opponents may reply that no demonstrable progress has been made toward more distant aims. Even where performance can be demonstrated, there is often the argument that the unanticipated consequences have more than offset the accomplishment.

Always there is the problem of separating performance under deliberate policy from trends and events which presumably might have taken place if there had been no policy. Such is the nature of social causation that this question can seldom be answered satisfactorily.

It is under such handicaps that social policy makers must work, unable to know certainly what results may legitimately be claimed for any particular policy. Otherwise it would be a relatively simple, though tedious, matter to check off past successes for repetition, and past failures to avoid.

SCIENCE AND POLICY

When Auguste Comte described his plan for a science of human society a little more than 100 years ago, he strongly believed that such a new science would soon provide a guide for policy makers in meeting the troublesome problems of humanity. Other pioneers among the social scientists shared his ideas, while some were inclined to the more pessimistic view that human affairs are caught in some deterministic set of forces over which man can exercise little or no deliberate control. While those on both sides of the controversy were discussing the possibilities of science, their thinking was mainly philosophical and had but little orientation in observed fact. Lester F. Ward, most influential among the early American sociologists, strongly impressed upon American sociology the idea of the possibility of societal self-direction, a notion which is compatible with the American temperament and thought traditions. There remain echoes of the old debate, but as the application of scientific method to the study of human group life has brought an ever-increasing fund of factual knowledge and sound interpretation, the more general consensus among social-science leaders has become one which supports not only the possibility but also the inevitability that social science will play a significant role in future social planning.

Characteristic of the present-day viewpoint in the social sciences, more especially in sociology, is a greater caution than pioneers advocating societal self-guidance displayed. It is now generally realized that those early writers underestimated the complexity of the task of the social sciences, and the resistance they would encounter in strongly entrenched folk beliefs. The issue at present, within the social sciences themselves, is not as to whether social sciences have contributions to make to a sounder type of social policy; it is rather as to when such contributions can be made. Most feel that there is still much to be done in the social sciences to strengthen their position both scientifically and in popular acceptance, and that what is offered now as guidance for policy must be offered with caution.

Much of what can be currently drawn from social sciences of value to social policy formation is negative, in that it indicates what cannot be done, or what methods are inappropriate, or the limits within which desired changes may be brought about. Typical of such contributions is the following: [1]

> Man must direct social change toward desirable goals if he is to realize better conditions. In order to know what the better goals are and how to obtain them, he must depend increasingly upon research in the fields of social sciences, especially in sociology. Too much planning and policy making have been guided by folklore and common sense, too little by an actual understanding of the forces with which we work in man's group life. Too often we have assumed a thing to be true, only to find that in our development of plans and policies we accomplish results opposite those intended. Man has the capacity to control and direct in a measure the forces of cultural and of social change as he does the cultural forces of borrowing and diffusion. The phrase "in a measure" is used advisedly. It is recognized that man cannot always, even with the best scientific insight, foresee all the consequences of a new invention or of a new trait borrowed from other cultures. If he cannot foresee its complications, he cannot, of course, know the direction in which he wants to have change move or know how to bring progress about. But with greater open mindedness he can, where serious errors have been made, through research get at the seat of the difficulty and attempt to redirect change toward desirable goals.

The more cautious approach to the problem is exemplified in writings of many social scientists. An anthropologist wrote in a recent book: [2]

> The new stage of the development of the social sciences, still largely unrealized by the general public, may prove to have consequences as revolutionary as those of atomic energy. However, it would be fantastic to anticipate any immediate moulding of world civilization to human desires and needs. Cultures and beliefs, attitudes, and feelings of men change slowly even in the accelerated modern tempo. It makes for sanity to consider some historical facts. As Leslie White reminds us, only about 2 per cent of human history has elapsed since the origin of agriculture, .35 per cent since the invention of the first alphabet, .009 per cent since the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Contemporary social science is merely a lusty infant, howling loudly

---

[1] Paul H. Landis, *Man in Environment,* The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1949, pp. 646–647.

[2] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949, pp. 288–289.

> because the world is still deaf. Still, he promises much if he be neither starved nor spoiled.
>
> Present ignorance and crudity of social science methods and theories must not be glossed over. Humanity which is gradually abandoning the hope of the kingdom of heaven should resist the blandishments of cheap messiahs preaching an easy achievement of the kingdom on earth over night. To some degree cultures make themselves. From the short range point of view man is still more or less at the mercy of irreversible trends he did not wilfully create. Nevertheless, in longer range, social science offers the possibility of understanding and of prediction, of speeding up desired trends, of greatly increased opportunities for successful adjustment if not of control.

A factor to be considered in application of social-science findings is always the disruptive effects that may follow, since social sciences by their very nature are iconoclastic. They represent the progressive substitution of knowledge for widely held beliefs, and such beliefs may often be a significant part of the cohesion and morale of a group. This point of view is expressed by one social scientist: [3]

> An inevitable accompaniment of scientific achievement is social instability. The frontier where knowledge ends and belief begins is a changing one. Like the fluid fronts of which we heard so much as the Allied Armies moved across France . . . the spearheads of scientific research are thrust forward at unequal rates into unknown territories, often far ahead of the supporting body of popular understanding, leaving the frontier between knowledge and belief confused, uncertain and unstable.
>
> But individuals and groups need a measure of certainty and predictability about their affairs. There is a limit to the speed with which human thought can adjust itself to new discoveries and those who are most capable of making rapid adaptations may be held back by the need to co-ordinate their behavior with that of their less flexible fellow men. . . .

Ethnic policies are almost inevitably tied up with policies directed at numerous other social problems, as such problems are recognized by a given people at a given time. In fact, as has already been discussed, ethnic relations are inseparably tied up with numerous conditions, many of which are regarded as pathological by some people, if not generally. Thus the advancement toward improved ethnic relations is a part of the general notion of human progress and, for full perspective, must be regarded in the light of the problems of progress.

> Western Civilization has not been the originator of science or of scientific method, but the systematic growth of sciences has been peculiar to it. This is equally true of the idea of progress, which, as we now accept it, is peculiar

---

[3] Albert Morris, "Can We Survive a Science of Society?" *Education*, April, 1946, p. 503.

to our own civilization and to the last few centuries of its development. Both science and the idea of progress have strongly supported each other, for it has been the advances of physical sciences and their dependent technologies which have given strong impetus to the idea of progress, just as the notion of progress has given strong support to scientific development. Despite their close interrelationship, the evolution of science and the idea of progress have been quite different. Science has developed largely by developing methods and by critical self-correction, whereas the notion of progress has developed as a number of ideologies and has shunned critical self-examination. This does not mean that there is no reality behind the idea of progress, but simply that its reality has never been rigidly separated from the dream.

The notion of progress, if the term is used to mean a consistent movement of mankind toward a life which is better in all ways for everyone, is based upon faith and not upon factual analyses. Indeed, those who have put the faith to the test of factual study have usually arrived at the disquieting conclusion that progress is an illusion, or that decline and decay are as certain in human life as progress. Nevertheless, the idea of progress is so much a part of our culture that we who live our lives out in it find its acceptance an indispensable part of our cultural adjustment.[4]

SUMMARY

A part of the study of ethnic relations is to understand the necessity for and the limitations of policies in regard to such relations. The contacts of strange peoples bring about needs for policy, needs which cannot be indefinitely postponed until the knowledge for developing scientifically sound policies may be accumulated and evaluated. Thus there abound policies of various kinds and at various levels. To an extent they are coming under the influence of scientific knowledge of human group life, but there is a considerable lag between scientific finding and policy making and execution.

The analysis of policies may be made in terms of the essential components of policy—ends, means, and suitable rationalizations. In all social policy—and policy toward ethnic relations is not exceptional—ends are necessarily multiple, in terms of being long-range, intermediate, and immediate goals. There is thus a necessary overlapping of means and ends, since the closer ends become means to the achievement of more removed objectives. This makes difficult evaluation of policies, as does the difficulty of separating the accomplishments of deliberate programs from the general trends lying outside such programs. Some degree of objective evaluation of policies, however, can be obtained by relating them to several basic considerations. One such is the extent to which policies take into consideration the necessity of social change, another the allowance which they make for diversity of cultures, in which diversity lies the mechanism for cultural change.

---

[4] Paul A. F. Walter, Jr., *The Social Sciences*, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., New York, 1949, pp. 334–335.

The problem of the relation of the sciences of human behavior to policy, now and in the future, is crucial and has been given consideration by leaders in the social sciences. At present there is a strong note of caution in the expressions characteristic of sociologists and others, in the recognition of the imperfections still existing in their disciplines, and in the resistances found in popular thinking to scientific findings. All seem agreed that eventually the social sciences will be significant for policy makers in the social realm, but that sweeping immediate expectations from social sciences in this regard are premature.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are the essential components of social policy?
2. What are the cultural limits on these components?
3. The lack of readiness of science to contribute to ethnic policies is, in a sense, irrelevant. Why?
4. What difficulties are encountered in comparing different policies in somewhat different circumstances?
5. List the principal kinds of policies regarding ethnic relations.
6. Give examples of delayed-action programs.
7. What is the significance of the different levels of policy formation?
8. What is the principal hindrance to local policies?
9. What is the present attitude of social scientists toward applications of their findings?
10. How does the problem of ethnic policy relate to the more general problem of "progress"?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Barnes, Harry Elmer, and Oreen M. Ruedi, *The American Way of Life,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1942.

Beach, Walter Greenwood, *The Growth of Social Thought,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1939.

Case, C. M., *Social Process and Human Progress,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1931.

Furnas, C. C., *The Next Hundred Years,* Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., New York, 1936.

Kluckhohn, Clyde, *Mirror for Man,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949.

Landis, Paul H., *Social Policies in the Making,* D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1947.

Linton, Ralph, *The Science of Man in the World Crisis,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1945.

LORIMER, FRANK, ELLEN WINSTON, and L. K. KISER, *Foundations of American Population Policy,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948.

MARSHALL, L. C., *The Story of Human Progress,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926.

PITKIN, W. B., *A Short Introduction to the History of Human Stupidity,* Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York, 1932.

ROBINSON, J. H., *The Human Comedy,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1937.

WELLS, H. G., *The Shape of Things to Come,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933.

CHAPTER 23

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

A PART OF THE UNDERSTANDING of policy is the recognition of the necessity for making decisions when problems are urgent. This need was discussed in the preceding chapter in regard to the problems of ethnic relations themselves, but there is another aspect in which decisions must be made and in which racial and cultural considerations enter only indirectly although, in many cases, importantly. This aspect has to do with conditions which are considered as pathological in human relations and behavior, such as crime and delinquency, extended sickness, family discord, community disorganization, prostitution, alcoholism, mental disorders, and more generally, the problems of social welfare. In each of these the ethnic composition of the community is a key factor at times, and differential rates of incidence usually follow racial and cultural divisions in the population concerned.

The meaning of social pathology can best be understood by starting with the derivation of the term, which clearly is one borrowed from medical science. Just as the term itself is borrowed, so are many of the concepts upon which this particular approach is founded. In other words, in the study of social pathology the element of analogy is striking. Society or affected individuals are the patients, the social worker is the physician, the pathological conditions are the symptoms, and in every case the task is first to diagnose, then to prognosticate, and finally to prescribe the indicated treatment. Some pathological conditions have received more sociological attention than others, and whole disciplines have been built around crime and delinquency, marriage and the family, and community organization, while less, but increasing, attention has been given by social scientists to others.

CRIMINOLOGY

Perhaps the best developed of the fields centering in a type of pathological condition is that of criminology, with its subsidiary branches in the study of juvenile delinquency and penology. The study of crime and delinquency includes an examination of ethnic differentials in crime and delinquency rates, and the incidence of such rates in cultural or racial hybrids, the "marginal" persons and groups. The problems presented are immediate and pressing. An offense has been committed against the behavior standards of the community as formalized in law. The offender must, if practicable, be apprehended, and if apprehended, must be dealt with in some manner. On a somewhat higher plane, the problem of crime and delinquency calls for preventive measures in the community.

There are four principal approaches to the study of crime and its causes: the statistical, the ecological, the case history, and the analysis of community attitudes. Each has a bearing on the ethnic relations involved. In general, there are accumulated findings which have dispelled many earlier misconceptions regarding criminal behavior. For example, criminologists now are agreed that there is no criminal type physiologically or mentally; no one or no group is predestined by the accident of birth to commit crime or delinquencies. Criminals and delinquents are not necessarily feeble-minded nor psychotic. Criminal behavior and attitudes, like other kinds, are learned in associations with people in group life.

Statistics. Statistical studies demonstrate a few characteristics of criminal and delinquent behavior clearly. There are marked sex differentials in such behavior, and all groups which have valid statistics of crime reflect this difference, namely, that the male is more prone to such behavior than the female. Statistics also show fairly definite age-group differences, with delinquencies tending to cluster in the age groups at the upper border of the juvenile years, and the crime incidence concentrated in the years of early adulthood. The divorced and unmarried have higher crime rates than the married. These are important findings upon which agreement of statistical studies is impressive, for they help in answering many questions about the problem of criminality as it bears on ethnic groupings, and otherwise.

Although many statistical comparisons have been made of various racial and cultural groups, especially in our own population, the results are inconclusive. In some areas and localities the incidence of criminal behavior is higher for alien groups and those of "colored" races, but in others they do not appear to be. When statistics are corrected for the sex and age composition of the ethnic groups, as they should be in the light of what has been said above, it appears that the "native whites" of this country are more prone to criminal behavior than those of other groups, with the possible exception of Negroes who, culturally, are most closely akin to the "native whites."

> Two conclusions of the Wickersham Report on Crime and the Foreign Born are important: First, the data for nationality and crime are so poor that scientific results are negligible; and second, in so far as the data are of value, the criminal rates for the foreign born are rather more favorable than those for natives. . . . The general unadjusted criminal rate indicates the rate among foreign born is less than that for native born in 14 out of 23 types of crime. Our chief criminal problem is not with the foreign born but with their American-born sons and daughters.[1]

Ecological Studies. Further light is shed on ethnic differences by ecological studies, especially by those which have been made of areas in larger cities. Here the focus of attention, as regards both crime and delinquency, is on the "interstitial" areas, or those at the border of racial and cultural zones. Within the zones occupied by various cultural and racial groups, the crime rate is relatively low, but where such zones overlap zones of other cultural or racial groups, places where cultural conflict is most likely to be acute, the rates of crime and delinquency are highest. Thus it is not race itself, nor culture itself, but the conflict between and among ethnic groups which makes for high incidence.

Case Studies. Case histories, lacking the objectivity of statistical and ecological studies, nevertheless are revealing. The greatest accumulations of such histories are those of juvenile delinquents; relatively few are of mature criminals, but there is sufficient agreement among them to permit some generalizations. Significant in their similarities are the patterns and sequences of events and influences in maturing delinquents. In case after case, if one studies hundreds or thousands of them, as has been done by some specialists in criminology, the first signs of delinquent behavior are the same: rebellion against the family or some member of it, staying away from home for long periods and late at night, and association with "bad" companions. A later pattern includes rebellion at school, habitual truancy, and running away from home for increasingly long periods, with growing attachment to the "gang" made up of others inclined toward delinquency. In case histories the critical turning point is usually the first appearance before authorities by a youth charged with an offense, who thenceforth carries the stigma of being a delinquent. Then, repeatedly, there is a succession of terms served in reformatories which appear to make normal adjustments outside exceedingly difficult, new associations in periods of freedom with hardened delinquents and criminals, and the development of attitudes of defiance toward the community, and more especially, toward law enforcement and its symbol, the police.

---

[1] John M. Gillette and James M. Reinhardt, *Problems of a Changing Social Order,* American Book Company, New York, 1942, pp. 528–529.

Of special pertinence for ethnic relations are the early periods in the development of delinquent behavior patterns and attitudes, when children revolt against home, first, then school. Here the focal point of attention is on the "second-generation" or "marginal" persons, the children of immigrant parents or mixed marriages, trying to adjust to contrasting cultural standards. Attention also focuses on certain occupational characteristics, the "street trades" for boys, such as selling newspapers or shining shoes—trades which apparently invite associations conducive to misconduct; and for girls and women, domestic service. Both the street trades and the domestic service appear to be conducive to the development of delinquent habits, and the incidence here appears to be especially great on the alien and racial groups of low-income status.

Community Attitudes. The study of community attitudes indicates some significant probabilities. There is, of course, an element of prejudice both of the community and of enforcing officers toward aliens and persons of "colored" races. This, presumably, is reflected in the selective process of law enforcement, in which who is suspected, who apprehended, who prosecuted, and who convicted would all reflect intergroup biases. Even then, those among the convicted who are encarcerated, who are placed on probation, and who are released from prison on parole, all would be determined to some extent by community attitudes. Surprisingly, the very few studies of some objectivity which have been made of this selective process have shown less obvious prejudice in operation than most who have dealt with the subject only theoretically would presume. Nevertheless such prejudices are there and are operative.

In all, it may be said that ethnic relations enter into the problems of delinquency and crime importantly, but that careful and critical studies in this country show that differentials are not great when corrections are made for the composition of ethnic groups. The critical point appears to be that of cultural and racial conflict as indicated both by the high criminality rates of "interstitial areas" and by the difficulties of marginal persons and groups.

Corrective Measures. A number of cities, especially those which have been confronted with threats of rioting or other large-scale violence, have undertaken to train law-enforcement officers to deal with ethnic minority groups and their members. In some cities, handbooks are issued to officers containing such instruction. At the same time a number of organizations have interested themselves in the defense of the civil rights, especially of minority group members, and through court action and publicity have been able to curb abuses in the treatment of such persons. Undoubtedly some gains have been made in this regard, although not uniformly or everywhere in this country.

FAMILY DISORGANIZATION

The basic equation of family pathology is the contrast between the high ideals of familial life and the relatively low actualities of family behavior. The ideals themselves are conducive to problems because of their unrealistic and quasi-mystical perfection. The good father and husband, the model mother and wife, and the ideal children are so far removed from human possibilities that all flesh-and-blood people fall somewhat short of them, and many woefully so. Thus there are generated internal conflicts within individuals who realize and personalize their shortcomings, with resulting further departures from the impossible ideals.

While this formula is the rule, still it may be noted that most families are not pathological cases. In other words, family life, despite all its strains, is most usually normal. But often, and apparently with increasing frequency, families do disintegrate. The study of early patterns leading to delinquent and criminal careers are as much studies of families as of individuals, as is indicated by the first symptoms, rebellion against family and home. The pathologies of family life are mainly those symptomized by child neglect, old-age frustration and dependence, and marital discord resulting either in divorce, desertion, or general demoralization.

Divorce and Desertion. The studies of family pathologies are of the same types as those of crime and delinquency. There are statistical studies of the incidence of divorce, desertion, and illegitimacy. It appears from such studies that groups and strata in our own society which have high divorce rates have relatively low desertion rates, and that those with low divorce rates have high incidences of desertion, wife beating, and other indications of marital discord. One factor indicated is the relative high cost of divorce, which makes resort to such legally correct dissolution of marital ties a relative luxury of the well-to-do, while those without means resort to less legal methods of resolving their problem. Another factor which enters is the religious, since some denominations place a strong taboo on divorce, while others look upon it with tolerance.

The significance for ethnic groups may be found in both differentials. Those ethnic groups which are characterized by relatively low income have little divorce and much desertion or discord. And those ethnic groups which belong predominantly to religions such as the Roman Catholic, which place strong prohibitions on divorce, show the same patterns. Some ethnic groups, notably the Jewish, have low rates of marital and familial discord. A factor here is probably the long adaptation of Jews to urban life, in contrast to the rural backgrounds of many other ethnic groups whose rural family patterns are difficult to adjust to urban life conditions.

Rural and Urban Contrasts. Ecological studies of family breakdown serve to emphasize the difference between rural and urban rates of divorce, desertion, and other indexes of family discord. The general rule is for urban rates to be higher, and rural rates lower. This appears to be generally true as well for Negro families and for those of other ethnic groups. Those groups which live in rural settings have characteristically stable family institutions, while those who live in urban communities, especially the large cities, show high incidence of family disorganization. This is especially significant for the New immigrants, most of whom came from rural settings but made their American adjustments in large cities. It is also significant for the Negro migrants from the rural South to industrial centers of the North and West. As would be expected, these groups have been characterized by unstable familial life and considerable family discord.

A part of the explanation can be found in the field of community attitudes. In the rural setting, typically, whether in the United States or elsewhere, the community is concerned with the families which make it up, and community sanctions and pressures are exerted to reinforce those of the family. The rural family is more typically patriarchal, with strong parental authority as a unifying force. By contrast, the family in the city finds the community largely indifferent to family solidarity, patriarchal control challenged, and authority ambiguous. There is also the fact that rural families usually are work units with tasks and responsibilities for all able members of the family, while in urban settings there are few familial functions performed in the home, and either idleness or a multiplicity of outside interests brings strains on family ties.

Cultural Standards. Cultural standards of family life vary from group to group. In an earlier discussion of the Negro family it was indicated that a source of difficulty is the Negro attitude toward desertion and illegitimacy, products of the long historic period of slavery—an attitude that is unacceptable to the dominant whites. The Amerindians who have retained their cultural systems have familial organization and ways which are at variance with those of the general American culture, as did the early Chinese immigrants and many other culture groups. The disparity of cultural standards becomes a part of the problem of family life and contributes to strains on family ties.

Closely related to family disorganization is the problem of the many thousand unattached and familyless men in this and other countries. There are both rural and urban aspects of the problem. In rural areas it includes the tramps and hoboes who wander from place to place, as well as considerable groups of migratory workers following their seasonal occupational routes. In the city it is the pathological conditions which are concentrated largely in zones of transition near the centers of large urban communities. Such zones are peopled largely by unattached males, and there is practically no family life. It is an area of high incidence of drug addiction, alcoholism, petty crime, and sickness. The men are mostly transient, living in "flop houses" or shabby rooming houses.

In the rural areas, a large proportion of the migrant workers are Mexicans or of other alien ethnic groups. Some travel with their families, but most are single and unattached. Characteristically they are impoverished and live under poor conditions as regards health, recreation, and other considerations. The unattached males of transition areas in cities also contain a large proportion of persons of alien cultures as well as of other than white races.

The female counterparts of the unattached male are the prostitutes, who are included among the socially pathological. Without family ties or with ties of the most unsubstantial kind, prostitutes range in the income scale from the very bottom to relatively high positions. They share the occupational hazards which go with prostitution, including the moral condemnation of the community and the high incidence of drunkenness, alcoholism, drug addiction, venereal disease, and other illnesses. A considerable proportion of prostitutes are of other than native white American ethnic background in this country. For some culture groups, even in this country, but to a greater extent in other countries, a period of prostitution is permissible as a prelude to later life adjustment in marriage or in other careers. In such terms, prostitution is not necessarily a pathological condition.

Prevailing Trends. Several prevailing trends appear clear as far as family pathologies are concerned, especially in the United States. The incidence of familial breakdown appears to be growing as a long-term trend. For our purposes this is significant because it appears to continue despite the stoppage of large-scale immigration. It would appear as ethnic differences decline, as they have tended to in most parts of the country, the general trend as it affects family organization continues.

In regard to urban and rural differences, which were discussed above, the rural rates and trends appear to be becoming more like those of urban communities. A part of this is probably the result of the disappearance of the relative isolation of rural communities, which is accompanied by increasing urban domination of rural life ways. Another part is probably due to increasing ease of mobility, so that rural people are progressively emancipated from the control of their community mores and tend to spend more of their time in urban environments.

COMMUNITY DISORGANIZATION

Ethnic diversity enters importantly into community disorganization both in the conflicts that arise from such diversity and in the breakdown of normal community controls over individual and group behavior. In every city there are various cultural and racial subcommunities in which are found group ways somewhat at variance with those of the community as a whole. The Chinatowns, now rapidly disappearing in this country, the Negro cities within cities, the various ghettos, Little Russias, Little Italys, and other typical communities usually present some degree of disorganization within themselves, but more especially at their borders where they overlap other communities.

Elsewhere in the world where cities have heterogeneous ethnic composition, the disorganizing effects are often even greater, with frequent violence between and among ethnic groups. Jerusalem, with its partly Jewish and partly Arab population, has had a long history of rioting and conflict. European cities historically have found their Jewish ghettos centers of conflict with the remainder of the city. The small European colonies in Asiatic cities frequently have been objects of violent attacks by native populations.

Less spectacular than the violent outbreaks occasioned by culture conflict in cities, but equally significant from the viewpoint of community disorganization, is the necessary biculturality of alien ethnic groups, especially where they are minorities. The clash of cultural standards in such situations tends to weaken the hold of both cultures on individuals. The further fact that the alien groups are often low-income groups tends to make problems of housing, sanitation, health, and relief more acute in areas occupied by them, and thus to make them burdens on other parts of the city. In the large cities of the United States a considerable part of the resources of social agencies is devoted to minority ethnic groups, a fact which, as previously noted, contributed to the growing opposition to uncontrolled immigration.

Rural Problems. There is also a rural aspect to community disorganization. Many rural communities are relatively homogeneous in ethnic make-up, but in those in which there are different culture groups, either one is subordinated to and exploited by the other, or there is apt to be sharp conflict between them. If the alien culture or racial group is made up of transient migratory workers, segregation and discrimination are usually extreme, resulting in poor living conditions and lack of recreational, educational, health, and other facilities for the alien group.

In some rural communities where different ethnic groups have long lived together, efficient accommodations have been reached and maintained over a long period of time. In such cases amalgamation eventually breaks down the cultural differences, or there remains the latent possibility of community disruption when some change comes about in the life pattern of the community.

Whether in rural or urban settings, ethnic discord is often aggravated by other cleavages as in different religious beliefs and practices, linguistic differences, or differences in moral standards. Where such complications enter, cooperative accommodations are more difficult than otherwise and tend to be less stable when they are reached.

Political Structure. Ethnic relations have been involved in pathological conditions within the American political structure.

> If the record with respect to acute disorganization in the political life of American communities is conspicuously good, the record with regard to chronic disorganization and dissociation is notoriously bad. For many reasons—the heterogeneity of populations in our large cities, the apathy of voters, the conflict of mores among ethnic groups, the complexity of government, and the tradition of lawlessness—the government of local communities in the United States has been the darkest stain on our political record. Lord Bryce pointed this out more than half a century ago in his monumental *American Commonwealth.* Muckrakers have been exposing the evils of local government with monotonous regularity ever since Lincoln Steffens documented *The Shame of the Cities* in 1901. In 1947 a study of *Our Fair City* revealed that the story is still the same.[2]

The existence of minority groups in areas or in cities has been associated in one way or another with political corruption throughout American history. Especially has this been true since the War between the States. In the South the virtual disfranchisement of the Negro became a factor in all political organization and practice and has remained such until the present, even though recently there are some signs of improvement in this regard. Immigrants arriving in large numbers in New York City and other eastern cities became easy prey for political "machines" and contributed to the strength of such organizations. Aliens have often been voted in considerable groups illegally, and votes of ethnic minorities have often been bought singly or in blocks to control the outcomes of elections.

---

[2] Jessie Bernard, *American Community Behavior,* The Dryden Press, New York, 1949, p. 527.

In industrial centers ethnic groups have been used, historically, as strike breakers in times of labor disputes, a practice which has led to many violent outbreaks. Early, it was the immigrant workers who were so used, and later, after the stoppage of large-scale immigration, there was a period when Negroes were substituted. Such episodes brought about intense intergroup conflicts along ethnic lines which long outlived the particular situations in which they arose. What remains of resistance to Negroes and others in labor organizations stems, in part, from early strike-breaking practices of employers.

HEALTH AND RELATED PROBLEMS

Generally speaking, alien minorities present special problems of sickness and premature death in technologically advanced countries; in backward countries, the alien minority may find the majority a hazard to its own health standards and practices. In this country, with few exceptions, distinctive ethnic minorities have higher rates of death and infant mortality, and higher incidence of sickness than the general population. So obvious has this been that it early gave rise to the now discarded notion that particular peoples had particular susceptibility to certain serious diseases, such as tuberculosis. It is true that the living conditions of some ethnic groups have exposed them more to such diseases, even though there is nothing in race itself which makes them necessary victims.

The highest general death rates and infant mortality rates in the United States are found among such groups as the Navaho Indians of the Southwest and the rural Negroes of the South. The introduction of better diets, facilities for sanitation, and accessible hospitals and clinics have brought rapid improvements to such groups, so that their morbidity and mortality rates are approaching, although slowly, the average for the country.

Closely related pathological conditions show a high incidence in some ethnic groups and low rates in others. Drunkenness and alcoholism are found in most minority groups, but there are also minorities in which the incidence is negligible, being lower than that for the general population. Especially in urban communities, rates of mental disorders and feeblemindedness appear high in alien ethnic groups, but such a generalization must be made with caution because of the inadequacy and unreliability of many statistics purporting to show such rates. A part of the apparently high rates among alien minorities may arise from the fact that they live under circumstances in which it is difficult to conceal pathological conditions, while the dominant and well-to-do groups, through the use of private hospitals and other facilities, have less difficulty in that regard.

> The character of drink-induced disorganization among the immigrants is in many cases directly related to the phenomenon of culture shock. That is, a sudden and drastic shift of cultural milieu brings about a changed outlook among these submerged groups concerning drink. In this country the use of alcohol is frowned upon by large sections of the population and was at one time forbidden by law. The Old World sanctions of convivial drinking are conspicuously lacking. The disorganization resulting from such conduct is thus more acute.[3]

Problems of health are always closely tied to such others as housing, diet, recreational opportunities, and education, and often particular ethnic groups are disadvantaged in all these regards, as well as handicapped by lack of accessibility of medical and hospital care. Occupational diseases and hazards are often a considerable factor in such occupations as mining, where there is apt to be a considerable ethnic concentration of workers. Where this is the situation, it also is reflected in morbidity and mortality statistics of the ethnic groups.

Infant mortality is related to all the factors which have been listed and is also to some extent a function of high birth rates and large family size. Those ethnic groups with high birth rates most usually have accompanying high rates of infant mortality, as illustrated by the Amerindians and the rural Negroes in this country. It has been demonstrated that when the high birth rates characteristic of groups decline, as when Negroes move to cities, the infant mortality rate declines correspondingly.

POVERTY AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

Throughout the preceding chapters, the close relationship of poverty to ethnic relations has been emphasized. Rarely are situations encountered in which poverty is not a leading complication in relationships between racial and cultural groups. Generally speaking, the western Europeans and their descendants have been among the wealthier peoples of the world, and other racial and ethnic groups live at lower levels in the economic scale. The characteristic life conditions of many hundreds of millions of people—entire racial groups—are in some cases unbelievably wretched when judged by the standards of the western Europeans. The peoples of Asia, with few exceptions, the native peoples of Africa, the

---

[3] Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1941, rev. ed., p. 291.

Indians and mestizos of Latin America, and the Eskimos of the northern wastes would all fit into this general picture. In fact, the great majority of people of the world live out their lives in poverty and without hope of any considerable material betterment.

Poverty, as has been indicated, is both cause and effect of much ethnic conflict. It is also so interrelated with other pathological conditions that it constitutes, in effect, a kind of vicious circle. Poverty causes and arises from poor health and disability, it enters into conditions which bring about familial discord, crime, and delinquency, and it is almost always an ingredient of other social pathological conditions.

The notion of the vicious circle, as applied to the Negro problem in the United States, is expressed in one book: [4]

> White prejudice and discrimination keep the Negro low in standards of living, health, education, manners, and morals. This, in its turn, gives support to white prejudice. White prejudice and Negro standards thus mutually "cause" each other. If things remain as they are, this means that the two forces happen to balance each other. This is, however, entirely accidental. If either of the factors changes, this will cause a change in the other factor, too, and start a process of interaction where the change in one factor will continuously be supported by the reaction of the other factor. The whole system will be moving in the direction of the primary change, but much further.
>
> If, for some reason, white prejudice could be decreased and discrimination lessened, this is likely to cause a rise in Negro standards, which may decrease white prejudice still a little more, which would again allow Negro standards to rise, and so on. If, instead, discrimination should be increased, the vicious circle would spiral downward. The original change can as easily be a change of Negro standards upward or downward.

Conflict of Attitudes. As previously noted, a part of the bearing of poverty on ethnic relations lies in the cultural attitudes toward it. Those peoples who have known nothing but poverty have developed group attitudes which accept, and even in some cases exalt, poverty. Western Europeans, especially those of Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage, are highly intolerant toward poverty and reject it as something to be avoided or escaped at all costs. A major source of misunderstanding between those of Anglo-Saxon heritage and other peoples with whom they have come into contact has been the wide gap between their contrasting attitudes. From the western European point of view, peoples lacking the ambition to "better themselves" in terms of material services and goods deserve to be exploited.

[4] Arnold Rose, *The Negro in America,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948, pp. 29–30.

The prevailing poverty of so many ethnic groups is aggravated by demographic forces from which they find it almost impossible to escape. The poorest peoples have high birth rates, as a rule, and as the birth rate declines, the death rate also declines. Either way there is steady population pressure against any rise in living standards. Nevertheless it may be said that the general trends of living standards of nearly all peoples are upward, even though the rise may be slow and may be seriously interrupted at times by war and natural catastrophes. There is reason to believe that the general trend will continue upward in foreseeable time, even though half the world may advance so little that differences will be hardly noticeable.

TREATMENT

The study of case histories where socially pathological conditions are encountered, with the object of diagnosis and treatment, indicates several revealing things. One has already been indicated in connection with poverty. Socially pathological conditions tend to cluster, so that when one is found in an individual or group, it can be expected that others will also be found. Often different pathological manifestations run in sequences, and nearly always one ingredient is poverty. Thus any treatment of social pathological conditions, whether for the individual or group, almost always involves action aimed at the alleviation of poverty.

It is further revealed that the family unit, except in the cases of unattached persons, is the focal point on which various problems concentrate. Families of criminals or delinquents often are marked by marital discord, may contain feeble-mindedness or psychotic persons, and often create drunkenness and other problems.

A brief paragraph from one case history illustrates the tendencies of pathological symptoms to occur in clusters as they bear upon a family unit: [5]

> At twenty-two Joe married the daughter of an Austrian-German family of rather low economic and social standards. The father, like Joe, worked in the mills; he was a hard drinker, not a very steady worker, generally in debt, and abusive to his family. The mother, now an old lady, in her younger days had been a domestic servant. She had married after the birth of an illegitimate child which died in infancy. Joe's wife was the third child in this family. Her oldest sister had run away from home and was reported to be a common prostitute in a large city further west. Another older sister had had difficulty in getting as far as the sixth grade by her sixteenth year. The younger brother

---

[5] John L. Gillin, *Social Pathology,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1939, rev. ed., p. 4.

had been committed to an institution for the feeble-minded at the age of fourteen. A younger sister was an epileptic in the state institution for epileptics. . . .

If the family unit is a part of an underprivileged ethnic group, that fact may greatly aggravate the incidence of pathological conditions and may, at the same time, tend to reduce the burden of the problems. Thus a family which is impoverished, and which belongs to a community or group of families similarly impoverished, within that group escapes the stigma of being "different." Drunkenness in communities and groups with traditions of drunkenness is less severely condemned within that community. Very often, too, in closely knit ethnic groups, there is a much greater practice of mutual aid among families than would be found in less race- or cultural-conscious groups.

Throughout the study of cases in social pathology, it is clear that always there is some degree of stigmatization connected with the community attitudes toward its "unfortunates." A part of any complete definition of social pathology would necessarily include the moral implications of such conditions for the group which passes judgment on them.

The treatment of pathological conditions must be with a recognition of these facts. It must, to be effective, be a many-sided attack on complexes of problems, and its principal application must be to the family unit even though there may also be the need for individual treatment and for alleviative measures for the larger group.

The principal devices for treatment are: the use of laws to control apparent sources of problems; case work at the individual and family level; general group education in particular usages to alleviate hostile attitudes; and the provision of facilities, such as sanitary improvements and recreational centers, from either public or semipublic funds.

Formal law is at best a clumsy instrument for dealing with social pathological conditions. Where such conditions are aggravated by ethnic considerations, the possibilities of laws are limited by the fact that they usually are general and seldom single out particular groups. In the case of the Amerindians, as previously shown, efforts have been made by law to keep intoxicating liquors from the group, but with indifferent success. Despite such discriminatory legislation, drunkenness and even alcoholism are frequently found among Indians, and the resulting pathological conditions are intensified by the additional violations incurred.

Case work with both individuals and families is the principal device used by social workers and others interested in remedial action. Where ethnic differences are encountered, the case work can be adapted to them by understanding workers. When such understanding is lacking, the ethnocentrism of the case worker may well make remedial efforts difficult, if not impossible. Case work which attempts to force compliance with alien standards is usually foredoomed to failure.

The advantages of case work are that it can be adapted to the particular person or group as well as to the actual situation in which pathological conditions arise. Its limitations lie in the volume of cases which confront welfare organizations, so that usually the case load is too heavy to permit the kind of intensive treatment which appears indicated, or many classes of families which should have treatment are neglected. Nevertheless, a vast superstructure of case-work organizations has grown up in every part of the country, and treatment by this method has become far-reaching. This has been a significant element in the improvement of conditions for many minority groups.

Group education has played an important part in ethnic adjustments, especially in the United States. Throughout the period of immigration, Americanization programs have been carried on in the principal immigrant-receiving centers, many of the programs initiated by the alien groups themselves in their efforts to improve adaptations of members of the American scheme of things. A large part of the national and local programs by governmental and nongovernmental organizations directed toward the Amerindians, and the Negroes since emancipation, has been educational in nature. Until recently, when the problem itself has been diminishing, results of most such educational efforts were relatively slight. As the size of the problem has diminished with the falling off of immigration, the educational efforts have been more efficient and effective.

SUMMARY

The various conditions in society which are considered as pathological often exhibit ethnic factors and differentials in incidence. Thus the problems of ethnic relations enter into the study and treatment of such conditions importantly. The social pathologies are numerous and reflect, to some extent, the moral standards of the community. The result is that those found in pathological conditions become stigmatized, and the stigma has often been attached to whole ethnic groups because of high incidence among them of the symptoms of socially pathological conditions.

From the study of social pathology, it seems clear that the problem conditions tend to cluster, so that where one kind of pathological symptom is found, others will also be found. Almost always present is poverty as a contributing and resulting condition, and the alleviation of poverty is nearly always a part of the treatment of social pathologies.

The incidence of social pathologies falls chiefly on the family group, which is the principal point of attack in remedial measures, even though strictly individual treatment and the alleviation of conditions for larger groups may also be involved.

As far as the ethnic considerations in social pathologies are concerned, they are thus related both to the economic position of the group in the community and to the stability of familial institutions in a given setting.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Define social pathology.
2. How are social pathological conditions related to the ethnic composition of a population?
3. How have ideas changed in recent years regarding the relation of race to the incidence of pathologies?
4. What approaches are used in the study of crime?
5. What ethnic factors enter into problems of the family?
6. How have minority groups entered into problems of political corruption in this country?
7. How, historically, have minorities been involved in labor problems?
8. What is the "vicious circle" of social pathology?
9. What are the principal types of remedial action?
10. What does the study of social pathology indicate regarding supposed panaceas?

SUGGESTED READINGS

ANDERSON, E. L., *We Americans: A Study of Cleavage in an American City,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1937.

CHILD, IRVIN L., *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1937.

COLLINS, ORVIS, "Ethnic Behavior in Industry: Sponsorship and Rejection in a New England Factory," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 41, No. 4, January, 1946.

COMMANGER, H. S., *Majority Rule and Minority Rights,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1943.

CUBER, JOHN F., and ROBERT A. HARPER, *Problems of American Society,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1948.

ELLIOTT, MABEL A., and FRANCIS E. MERRILL, *Social Disorganization,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1941, rev. ed.

GILLETTE, JOHN M., and JAMES M. RINEHARDT, *Problems of a Changing Social Order,* American Book Company, New York, 1942, Part IV.

GILLIN, JOHN L., *Social Pathology,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1939, rev. ed.

———, CLARENCE G. DITTMER, ROY J. COLBERT, and NORMAN M. KASTLER, *Social Problems,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1943.

GOLIGHTLY, C. L., "Race, Values, and Guilt," *Social Forces,* Vol. 26, No. 2, December, 1947.

LEMERT, EDWIN M., *Social Pathology,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1951.

SUTHERLAND, EDWIN H., *Principles of Criminology,* J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1939, Chaps. VIII–X.

CHAPTER 24

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Race and culture relations present many problems at various levels from the world to the local community and neighborhood, and they enter significantly into other problems to which they are incidental. Their study is important for clear understanding of the issues which currently concern people, but they are of value for other reasons. Intensive analysis of any one realm of human relations throws light on other realms and helps in the accumulation of greater knowledge and clearer insight into all things human—the history, achievements, and failures of man, the nature of his social structures and their institutions, the meaning of culture, and the place in human affairs of cooperation, conflict, competition, and, above all, of ceaseless change.

In the background of the study of ethnic situations lie the perspectives provided by prehistory and history, geography, and demography. Especially in the latter two realms we have an abundance of solid and measurable facts sufficient to indicate clear trends and thus providing a basis for sound prediction. As vital as such knowledge is, the crux of race and culture relations lies within men's minds. When peoples meet as groups and individual representatives of groups, decisions must be made. It is in the aggregate of such decisions that intergroup relationships are determined, and as we have noted previously, the content and processes of minds are various and complex. Yet, the best understanding we have in this area is the most essential part of man's task in studying man.

Understanding One's Self. Especially in the realm of human relations, the starting point of wisdom lies in understanding one's self. It is impossible for human beings to escape their humanity, which means their involvement in organized group life with all the limitations and biases that such involvement implies. The most rigorously scientific of social scientists is, like his lay fellows, a creature of his culture, and to some extent he sees the human life he studies through cultural eyes. The very value that he places upon scientific method is a group value absorbed in his cultural milieu or, more accurately, from that portion of his cultural milieu with which he has had most effective contact. Anyone who studies race and cultural relations who has not been steeped in the scientific viewpoint and values will find, in such study, that many of the characteristics of scientific approach are incompatible with previous training and conditioning for group life, and with the particular associations within the group that may be most significant.

There are several things that can be recognized and verified, if verification is needed, from common observations and experiences. Everyone is a product of a culture, even though an imperfect and incomplete one, and values, whether clear and coherent or vague and inconsistent, reflect largely the cultural values to which group members are exposed. All are members of organized groups and dependent upon such groups for continued existence and social effectiveness; and such groups exercise controls to bring about conformity to group standards of behavior and thought. Everyone, as a cultural being and group member, is necessarily ethnocentric in some or many of his most cherished beliefs and opinions.

To recognize these limitations which inhere in the nature of human group life does not disqualify a person from achieving a high degree of objectivity, however, even in the study of intergroup relations. Their frank recognition is, rather, a necessary prerequisite for scientific approach to human studies. In recognizing one's limitations for what they are, one is in a position to allow for them and to correct his thinking in relation to them.

The Scientific Approach. The requirements of a scientific approach to the study of intergroup relations are not essentially different from those of the scientific approach to the study of anything else. But their applications present special problems which are not so difficult where the study of nonhuman data is concerned.

In connection with the scientific study of race and culture relations, it is important to be as objective as possible. Because objectivity runs counter to prevailing ways of looking at things human, this means that much of the study results in negative findings, that is, in clearing the field of many nonscientific and pseudoscientific misconceptions which abound in popular thinking. Thus one finds in existing scientific studies few positive answers, and many that are simply denials or questioning of what have been supposed to be "facts."

Because clear thinking is a necessary attribute of scientific study, a large part of the study of racial and cultural relations is devoted to the analysis of confusions which have grown up in the field, chiefly that between what is racial, in the scientific sense, and what is cultural.

Even when the distinction between the racial and the cultural has been made clearly, the popular confusions and myths on the subject must be taken into consideration, because such confusions and myths are often immediately causative of types of ethnic relations as they are found at particular times and places. If all or most people thought with the clarity of scientists about race and culture as human phenomena, ethnic relations would be very different from what they are.

Scientific study of race relations yields no panaceas but rather casts doubt on those which permeate much popular thinking. The conclusions of science are tentative, always, not the "proof positive" kind that pseudoscience offers. This means that in science there is always an open mind, even in the face of seemingly overwhelming evidence. Many of the strongest convictions of scientists in the past as regards ethnic relations, as well as other matters of scientific concern, have been discarded as new and wider knowledge has become available and new approaches have been developed. There is no good reason for thinking that present notions may not undergo considerable modification in the future. What science has to offer at any given time is simply the best knowledge then available.

Current Bearings. The study of race and culture relations has always intrigued thinkers but has never been more timely than at present. Current events, the decisions facing leaders, and the probable problems of the immediate future abound in ethnic implications. The conflicts and disturbances of Asia, the Near East, Europe, Africa, and the Americas most usually involve shifts in accommodations between and among ethnic groups, whatever other considerations may enter. Old systems of domination and subordination and old balances between "advanced" and "backward" peoples are being challenged and upset. Russian communism is an economic-political ideology, but the Soviet Union is also an agglomeration of ethnic groups. The rise of nationalism among previously nonnationalistic peoples is the continuation of a long-term trend but is now an extension, and a critical one, to cultural groups which contrast in many ways with the Europeans who gave rise and the early impetus to modern nationalism.

Within our country many old ethnic accommodations have become obsolete, and new ones, whose precise outlines cannot be foreseen because of the multiplicity of variables involved, are in the making. New ethnic problems, or problems with ethnic significance, are arising, as that growing out of the increasing immigration into the United States from Mexico.

At the community level, problems with ethnic significance are found on every hand. As the result of population movements incident to two world wars, communities which previously had no or few ethnic problems find that such problems are appearing insistently. Our awareness of ethnic problems is keener because of the numerous organized groups which have evolved around programs to better ethnic relations from the neighborhood to the international level.

Only in completely ignoring events of the day, and shunning all speculations about the future of man or any considerable segment of mankind, can one entirely escape the importance of ethnic relations as a powerful ingredient in all human relations.

The fact remains that, even though there is much to be said for immediate action in the area of ethnic relations as in other fields of human behavior and relationships, we cannot escape the implications of the gaps and inadequacies of our present knowledge and interpretations. The social sciences have accumulated much and have advanced far in recent generations toward the understanding of man in his group life. But social scientists do not yet have substantial agreement among themselves on some relatively basic issues, the layman has little grasp of what the social scientists have to offer, and every social scientist readily admits that there is still much to be learned by detached study and research before we shall know completely what we are doing in the manipulation of human relationships.

Perspectives. The understanding of the place of ethnic relations in the past, present, and future of humanity requires seeing them in perspective. The most immediate perspective of pertinence is the demographic—an understanding of the sheer numbers of mankind and the relative numbers of various ethnic segments. Such perspective gains significance as one knows the general trend of world population and the differential trends of various areas and groupings. Such trends can be extended into the future with fair dependability. When related to the resources for maintaining life and living standards of various groups, these trends reveal the part played by population pressures of people against people and of people against resources.

In longer range, but also pertinent, is the perspective of human evolution with its vast geological time scale. A part of human evolution has been and is cultural evolution. There is no reason to think that evolution has come this far to go no farther, and that basic and essential change has stopped. To the contrary it seems inevitable that the processes will continue indefinitely into the future in ways which are in part predictable and largely unpredictable. What the racial and cultural situation of man will be a century from now, or several centuries in the future, is an inviting area of speculation. Some of the forces and trends are apparent, but at best, we can know with certainty only that the situation will be greatly different from what it is now.

We can know, for instance, that the earth will become more crowded in terms of numbers of people related to areas, but we cannot know what the ratio of numbers to accessible resources will be, for here the relatively unpredictable element of technology enters importantly. We can know that there will be a more even distribution of literacy and technological know-how among peoples, but to be more specific in this regard confronts us with numerous imponderables.

For the purposes of those living now, the immediate year or generation is the focus of attention, and certainly anything beyond a century in the future appears to be somewhat irrelevant. Nevertheless, a part of the understanding of human affairs, including intergroup relations, requires a much longer time perspective, one which can envision thousands and even hundreds of thousands of years. The past of man and his immediate anthropoid forerunners can be measured in such terms, and as far as we have knowledge or understanding, the future of man will be as long, and throughout it will be marked by continuous change. To envision a future state of man in which the human world will be ideal and unchanging runs counter to all the verifiable facts and all the logic of science.

The notion that mankind stands on the brink of disaster, or that civilization is about to be destroyed, has the same gripping appeal as do horror stories of fiction, but they provide a poor atmosphere to gain an understanding of the complex phenomena of human life. On the other hand, dreams of a Utopia near at hand with all ideals of equality and justice realized, in which all peoples are agreed with us on what is right and fitting, invite disillusionment and eventual defeatism.

Other perspectives than the evolutionary come easier and have more immediate meaning. The geographic setting of the human life drama is gaining in reality as thousands of Americans see widely scattered land areas and the great oceans which surround them. Korea is less than a postage stamp on a desk globe, but many Americans have found that it contains seemingly innumerable weary miles. The vast continent of Asia, for the most part, remains incomprehensible in terms of actual distances.

Sociological Principles. A truism, but one often overlooked by philosophers, is that all human life is organized group life in which individuals come and go, but the group persists. The essence of group continuity lies in what is transmitted from generation to generation as knowledge, beliefs, and techniques for adjustment to physical environment and other humans —culture. Without culture, in this sense, there would be no possibility of human survival.

From what we can surmise with a high degree of certainty about humanity's long past, we know that human life and cultural achievements have often been endangered. No matter how serious the crisis of the moment may be, even when it revolves around the advent of an atomic age, the perils are no greater than they have been often before. Yet mankind has proved rugged and has survived; and his cultures have persisted, on the whole, although modified by time and change. True, no one knows how many cultures have vanished, or how many culture groups have perished. What is even more significant, we do not know at our present state of knowledge precisely what, in cultures, best suits them for survival because the significance and place of culture in human evolution are just now coming under objective analysis.

It is obvious from what we do know that, except for culture, humanity could not have survived, for the ruggedness of man does not lie in the individual physiological equipment, but rather in the attributes of human group life. The cohesive forces that enable groups to exist, to persist through time, and to meet and solve life problems lie in cultures. Nor is it particular ways of doing that appear to be the essence of the survival value of cultures, for all manner of groups with all kinds of life ways have existed for long periods under what often have been adverse circumstances. If one were to hazard a theory regarding cultural efficiency from our present knowledge, it would probably have to be: the survival value of a culture lies in its efficiency in maintaining group morale, which would include both the urge to continue as a culture group and the willingness of members of culture groups to subordinate themselves to the requirements of group life.

The basis of strong group morale appears to lie in the concept of in-group or we-group which implies potential or actual out-groups or they-groups. Even the most tolerant must "wage war" on the intolerant. When present, contrasting racial and cultural groups supply ready-made in-group and out-group divisions for the maintenance and intensification of morale. The expression of such divisions among groups has its tangible basis in ethnocentrism, the notion that one's own group and its ways are the normal, natural, and right, providing standards by which the characteristics and ways of other groups may be judged.

Thus even the conflict element in ethnic relations derives validity and gains meaning from an understanding of the nature of group life. From this it does not follow, however, that any particular cleavages or expressions of division among peoples are inevitable and immutable. That there will be cleavages and conflicts in human affairs seems self-evident from all we know of human group life and its bases, but the study of intergroup relations demonstrates how changeable and flexible cleavages may be, and the great variety of forms of expression they may assume. Man is, even within his cultural limitations, an amazingly adaptable being. Human nature, far from being fixed and predetermined, is plastic, just as the cultures which mold human nature are elastic and adaptable.

Inherent in the concept of organized group life is the fact of the stratification of group members. Organization implies hierarchies of control, and the completely equalitarian society is yet to be experienced, if such a thing is possible. Each culture makes provision for hierarchal arrangements, and where ethnic differences exist, these differences are apt to enter into the scheme of stratification. While the hierarchal arrangement itself appears inevitable, the study of various cultures shows that no one such plan is necessary, nor is any particular basis for selecting those to fit into the various ranking positions. It is also obvious from intercultural studies that many degrees of rigidity and flexibility are possible in societal gradations.

The requirement in this regard, as in other group arrangements, is that there be some degree of stability, sufficient to permit prediction in interpersonal and intergroup arrangements, and therefore planning on the basis of such prediction. That innovations in human arrangements and relations meet with resistance arises largely from the need for stability. Thus sharp or sweeping changes in any human accommodations are against societal resistance and call forth efforts to retain the *status quo*.

These are a few of the sociological principles which throw light upon, and gain confirmation from, the study of the relations among ethnic groups. Together with other principles which have grown out of long and careful study of the verifiable facts of human group life in many settings, they make up the sociological approach.

Factual Data. The quantitative facts which have been given in this book are, in many cases, approximations and estimates. These are, however, sufficiently close to the probable truth to serve the purposes for which they have been given. Most of them are changing even as this book is being written, and there is every reason to expect that we shall have increasingly more accurate knowledge of these matters in the future than we have now.

The facts, whether quantitative or qualitative, are of little significance in themselves. If one accepts as a close approximation that the present world population is 2¼ billion people, that fact of and by itself is meaningless. It is only when it is related to other facts, such as those of area and resources, trends and differential trends, that its significance can be grasped. It is facts in their interrelationships with other facts that are important to insight and understanding.

Necessary information for the student of ethnic relations is of many kinds and must be drawn from many fields. They must come from geography, demography, biology and genetics, psychology, and all the specialized social sciences—anthropology, history, economics, political science, as well as sociology and social psychology.

All of the information from these fields can be combined only to the extent that there is an adequate structure of theory to bring them into consistent and meaningful relationship, and the theoretical framework best suited for their combination appears to be that of sociology, the science of human relations. It is in human relations that ethnic differences have their greatest meaning for contemporary man.

Vocabulary. Since thinking is done largely in words, the command of vocabulary and accurate word meanings is essential for clear thinking. This is especially notable in thinking about ethnic relations, as this book has shown repeatedly. Much of the loose thinking of the past among philosophers, scientists, and laymen, and a great deal of the thinking of the present have been and are faulty because little effort has been made to define terms carefully and to use them consistently. Much of the more popular literature on racial and cultural relations reflects the same obscurity. Beginning with the term *race* itself, it is apparent that intelligent discussion is impossible without agreement on the meaning of the term and derivative and related terms.

Throughout this book the effort has been to use terms in specific meanings. In order of importance as they bear on ethnic relations, such terms have included:

Those which cluster around the concepts of race and culture as the names of principal racial and subracial groupings, and those descriptive of major cultural divisions of man.

Those descriptive of social processes where ethnic groups are in contact, as acculturation, assimilation, amalgamation, accommodation.

Those having to do with social structure, as caste, class, strata.

Terms which have general sociological significance, as institution, community, socialization, folkways, mores.

The list is suggestive and not exhaustive, but it should bring to mind numerous other terms which are useful tools for thinking about and discussing human relations.

Many of the terms are familiar ones borrowed from common discourse, but in their specific usages in science they have greater clarity of meaning and more definiteness of reference than in ordinary practice. Often, as illustrated at the beginning of this book, the dictionary definitions are of little use as a basis for the clarity of thought and discussion which is necessary for scientific understanding.

CLOSING CONSIDERATIONS

Worthy of reemphasis because they are often overlooked or minimized are a few of the pertinent broad facts that stand out in such an investigation of ethnic relations as has been made.

First of these is that the ethnic problems of the United States are a part of the more general problems of racial and cultural relations of the world. This has always been true, and ignoring it has stood in the way of completely understanding the purely American aspects of these problems. The study of racial and cultural relations easily unravels into a preoccupation with particular social problems as seen from the American point of view. Nearly the whole of American literature on ethnic relations reflects such preoccupation and more than a little ethnocentrism, as might be expected of a people long concerned chiefly with their own immediate perplexities and potentialities. Such a viewpoint is, however, less suited to a people who have come into a position of leadership in world affairs and who have become committed to responsibilities in all parts of the world. For such issues as now confront us, a broader and more realistic grasp of the significance of racial and cultural contacts would appear to be better suited, even though such breadth and depth are difficult and slow of achievement.

Ethnic problems are complex. The term complex has probably been overused in this book, as it is in most writings dealing with social problems. The answer and justification can only be that human problems *are complex,* and the better the understanding we have of them and their component elements, the more complex they appear to be. Not only are the objective facts numerous and intricately interwoven in any given situation, but there are also ideological and other subjective aspects which must be considered and weighed. The most basic and difficult problem of them all is that of human motivations about which there is still much disagreement even in scientific interpretations.

One aspect of the complexity of intergroup relations lies in the now accepted notion of multiple causation, in which many forces and trends are recognized as interrelated in such a way that simple cause and effect equations are inadequate in the realm of human behavior. Human beings are interactive rather than simply reactive, and they live in a universe of natural, cultural, and psychological phenomena in which what is cause is also effect, and effect also cause, in an endless sequence.

The forces which converge in problems of ethnic relations appear to be intensified by war, preparations for war, and the immediate aftermaths of war. Thus war seems to be a period when, more rapidly and sweepingly than at other times, racial and cultural accommodations are changed. This applies not only to the preexisting accommodations between and among belligerent groups, but also within each group; and with the global aspect of modern wars, peoples far removed from the conflict itself feel the impact of change. This is especially significant in any prognostication regarding the immediate future of ethnic relations in the United States or elsewhere. Present alignments and cleavages, as well as present adjustments and maladjustments among racial and cultural groups, are subject to radical and rapid changes as long as the prospects of new wars remain.

LIST OF VISUAL AIDS

The motion pictures listed below and on the following pages can be used to supplement the material in this book. We recommend, of course, that a film selected from this list be reviewed before using in order to determine its suitability for a particular group.

No attempt has been made to include in this bibliography all of the films on the races and cultures of the world. The following films have been selected to supplement particular sections of the book, as examples of the many other films which are also available. For a complete listing of all such films, film users should consult *Educational Film Guide,* a standard reference book which is available in most school and public libraries.

Immediately following each title is the name of the producer; if the distributor is different from the producer, the name of the distributor follows. Abbreviations used are identified in the list of addresses at the end of the bibliography. In most instances, the films listed in this bibliography can be borrowed or rented from local or state 16-mm. film libraries. All of the motion pictures are 16-mm. sound films.

I. RACES AND CULTURES

Boundary Lines (IFF/McGraw, 10 min). Animated cartoon emphasizing the fallacy of artificial boundaries separating people and nations because of color, origin, or religion.

Brotherhood of Man (UAW/Brandon, 10 min). Animated cartoon film, based upon *Races of Mankind* by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, showing that differences between the human races are superficial, accidental, and environmental.

Growth of Mankind (AFR, 14 min). Development of mankind through the ages, partly related to the explorations of the late Dr. James Henry Breasted.

Man—One Family (BIS, 17 min). Emphasizes the scientific principles that there is no physiological master race and that there are no distinct racial groups among human beings. Film advisors: Julian Huxley and J. B. S. Haldane.

Picture in Your Mind (IFF/McGraw, 16 min). Earliest roots of prejudice and the reasons why any group, tribe, or nation thinks its way of life is superior to all others. Animation.

II. AREAS AND PEOPLES

The Family—An Approach to Peace (MOT/McGraw, 17 min). Contrasts the popular conceptions of foreign lands with scenes of life in these lands and emphasizes the similarities among people throughout the world.

Asia

Assignment: Tel Aviv (UPA, 21 min). Screen diary of the daily life and work of a family in the all-Jewish city of Tel Aviv.

Farmers of India (UWF, 20 min). Portrays the people living in the densely populated, underdeveloped lands of the Middle Ganges Valley. Produced by Louis de Rochemont.

Japanese Family (IFF/McGraw, 23 min). Portrays the customs and way of life of a family in Kyoto, Japan. Produced by Julien Bryan.

Nomads of the Jungle (UWF, 20 min). Portrays the people, their habits, customs, and way of life, living in the Malayan jungle. Produced by Louis de Rochemont.

Oriental City (UWF, 20 min). Study of the habits and customs of urban Oriental life as illustrated in Canton, China. Produced by Louis de Rochemont.

Peiping Family (IFF/McGraw, 21 min). Description of a middle-class Chinese family, their lives and ways of living. Produced by Julien Bryan.

Sampan Family (IFF/McGraw, 16 min). Description of the Chinese families who live and make their living aboard sampans—particularly the Ling family on the Min River in Fukien Province. Produced by Julien Bryan.

Africa

Desert Nomads (UWF, 20 min). Portrays the tribes of Nomads in French Morocco, their customs and way of life. Produced by Louis de Rochemont. (The Earth and Its People Series.)

People of the Chad (AFFilms; 20 min). Film record of native life in the interior of French Equatorial Africa.

Riches of the Veldt (UWF, 20 min). Portrayal of life in South Africa, particularly that of Johannesburg. (The Earth and Its Peoples Series.)

Toureg (AFFilms, 15 min). Customs, ceremonials, rules, and habits of a nomadic people living in the Hoggar Mountains in the Sahara Desert untouched by modern civilization.

United States—Background

Land of Liberty (TFC, 80 min). Pictorial history of the United States presented in four 20-minute parts: (1) Early history to 1805; (2) 1805 to 1860; (3) 1860 to 1890; and (4) 1890 to 1938.

The United States (BIS, 45 min). Traces the history of the United States from 1620 to 1940; shows the traditions and characteristics of Americans, and the wealth and resources of the country.

The Amerindians

Desert People (USIS, 25 min). Story of the Papago Indians, their history and way of life. Film story written by the Indians themselves.

River People (USIS, 25 min). Reconstruction from legend and history the story and way of life of the Pima Indians.

American Negroes

Color of a Man (Cong Ch, 18 min). Shows Negro conditions in the United States today. Reports the work of the American Missionary Association in the South.

American Immigration

Immigration (EBF, 11 min). Shows through photographs and animated maps the immigration streams into the United States during the last century.

One People (B'nai B, 12 min). Portrays by cartoon characters superimposed upon a map of the United States, the various nationalities that have come to this country.

III. THE PROBLEM

Does It Matter What You Think? (BIS, 15 min). Factors which influence public opinion and how such opinions are formed by newspapers and radio, exchange of ideas, and policies of organized groups.

Experimental Studies in Social Climates of Groups (Iowa, 30 min). Behavior of groups of boys organized in clubs run on democratic principles, as an autocracy, and as a laissez-faire group. Shows differences in behavior of boys in response to environmental climate.

Family Circles (CNFB/McGraw, 31 min). Shows how the interplay of school and home influences the development of children and youth.

Make Way for Youth (Assn, 22 min). How one town started a youth program which succeeded in breaking down the fences between neighborhoods, races, and religions.

The Challenge (McGraw, 30 min). A picture dramatization of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, set off by the wanton murder of a Negro who wanted to vote.

The High Wall (McGraw, 16 min). Case study of an insecure boy whose restricted home life conditioned him to hate any group different from him (in this case Polish).

DIRECTORY OF SOURCES

AFFilms—A. F. Films, Inc., Room 1001, 1600 Broadway, New York 19.
AFR—American Film Registry, 24 E. 8th St., Chicago 5.
Assn—Association Films, Inc., 347 Madison Ave., New York 17.
BIS—British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.
B'nai B—B'nai B'rith, 1003 K St., N.W., Washington 1, D.C.
Brandon—Brandon Films, Inc., 200 W. 57th St., New York 19.
CNFB—National Film Board of Canada, 1270 Ave. of the Americas, New York 20.
Cong Ch—Congregational Christian Churches, Department of Visual Aids, 287 Fourth Ave., New York 10.
EBF—Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., 1150 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, Ill.
Iowa—State University of Iowa, Bureau of Visual Instruction, Extension Division, Iowa City.

IFF—International Film Foundation, Inc., 1600 Broadway, New York 19. (Films distributed by McGraw-Hill Book Company Text-Film Department.)

McGraw—McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., Text-Film Department, 330 W. 42d St., New York 36.

MOT—March of Time Forum Films, 369 Lexington Ave., New York 17. (Films distributed by McGraw-Hill Book Company Text-Film Department.)

TFC—Teaching Film Custodians, Inc., 25 W. 43d St., New York 18.

UAW—UAW-CIO Film Division, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14.

UPA—United Palestine Appeal, 41 E. 42d St., New York 17.

USIS—Educational Film Laboratory, Office of Indian Affairs, U.S. Indian School, Santa Fe.

UWF—United World Films, Inc., 1445 Park Ave., New York 29.

NAME INDEX

A

Adamic, Louis, 393
Adams, J. T., 393
Anderson, E. L., 448
Aristotle, 61, 68
Ault, W. O., 184

B

Baker, Paul E., 323
Bandelier, Adolph F., 43*n.*
Barnes, H. E., 75, 266, 431
Barron, Milton L., 344*n.*
Beach, Walter G., 431
Beard, Charles A., 293*n.*
Beard, Mary R., 293*n.*
Becker, Howard, 75
Benedict, Ruth, 23, 75, 110*n.*, 120, 133*n.*, 276*n.*
Bernard, Jessie, 350, 383*n.*
Bernard, William S., 376
Berry, Brewton, 354*n.*, 397*n.*
Bettelheim, Bruno, 355*n.*
Beyer, Otley, 130
Bienstock, Gregory, 120
Birch, Rev. John J., 335*n.*
Bloom, Leonard, 370*n.*, 376
Boas, Franz, 23, 66*n.*
Bodin, Jean, 68
Boeke, J. H., 130*n.*, 141
Bogardus, E. S., 41*n.*, 58, 131, 132, 374*n.*
Botemps, Arna, 304
Botkin, B. A., 304
Bowman, Isaiah, 84
Brebner, John Bartlett, 230*n.*
Breckenridge, S. P., 393
Britt, S. H., 359
Brown, Demetra V., 376
Brown, Francis J., 373*n.*, 393
Bryce, James, 228
Buckle, Henry T., 68
Burris, Quincy Guy, 341
Burtt, H. E., 414

C

Carlson, Fred A., 216*n.*, 228
Carmen, E. D., 205
Carr-Saunders, A. M., 80*n.*
Carroll, Joseph C., 304
Case, C. M., 431
Catapucan, Benicio T., 372*n.*
Cayton, Horace M., 323
Chamberlain, Stuart, 63
Chapin, F. Stuart, 98
Chase, Stuart, 414
Child, Irvin L., 393, 448
Clark, S. D., 233*n.*, 246
Cleland, H. F., 184
Clinchy, E. R., 41*n.*
Colbert, Roy J., 448
Collier, John, 268*n.*, 285
Collins, Orvis, 448
Commanger, H. S., 448
Comte, Auguste, 427
Coolidge, Dane, 270*n.*, 285
Coolidge, Mary Roberts, 270*n.*, 285, 376
Cressey, George B., 108*n.*
Cuber, John F., 448
Currie, A. W., 231*n.*, 246
Cutler, James, 304

D

Dai, B., 414
Darwin, Charles, 428
Davidson, Daniel S., 121*n.*
Davie, Maurice R., 299*n.*, 304, 306*n.*, 319*n.*, 393
Davis, A., 414
Davis, Kingsley, 152*n.*, 312*n.*
Dawson, Carl A., 137
Dittmer, Clarence G., 448
Dollard, J., 414
Dominion, Leon, 192*n.*
Dowd, Martha Jean, 336*n.*
Drake, St. Clair, 323
DuBois, W. E. B., 304
Dumkee, Glen S., 142
Duncan, H. G., 59
Durkheim, Emile, 29

E

Ededin, Ben M., 359
Efron, Benjamin, 179, 347, 359

Egean, Frederick, 285
Elliott, Mabel A., 410*n.*, 448
Embree, E. R., 285, 304
Embree, John F., 120, 228
Emeny, Brooks, 191*n.*
Ennis, Thomas E., 120
Eskelund, Karl, 376
Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 152*n.*, 162

F

Fairchild, Henry Pratt, 266, 393
Faris, Ellsworth, 15*n.*, 23, 71*n.*, 342*n.*
Finot, Jean, 41
Fisher, G. M., 359
Fitzhugh, George, 65
Ford, Daryll, 163
Ford, Henry, 347
Forsyth, W. D., 84
Fortes, M., 152*n.*, 162
Franklin, John Hope, 288*n.*, 304, 309*n.*
Frazier, E. Franklin, 315*n.*, 323
Freeman, E., 414
Freeman, O. E., 142
Friis, Henning, 205
Fuller, Varden, 368
Furnas, C. C., 431
Furnas, J. C., 142

G

Galton, Sir Francis, 67, 69
Gamio, Manuel, 341
Gammage, Grady, 333*n.*
Garth, Thomas R., 23
Gettys, Warner E., 137
Gibbs, Henry, 162
Gillette, John M., 435, 448
Gillin, John L., 98, 445*n.*, 448
Gillin, John P., 98
Ginzberg, Eli, 359
Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de, 63, 64, 102
Goldman, Irving, 242*n.*
Golightly, C. L., 449
Gosnell, Harold F., 323
Graeber, Isacque, 359
Grant, Madison, 63
Green, Margaret M., 167*n.*
Greene, Evarts B., 256*n.*
Griswold, Laurence, 222, 229
Gross, Feliks, 199*n.*, 205
Gulick, Sidney L., 376
Gumpliowicz, Ludwig, 65, 66
Gunther, John, 117*n.*, 120

H

Halsey, Margaret, 323
Handlin, O., 59
Hankins, Frank H., 23, 64, 75
Hansen, Marcus Lee, 230*n.*, 246, 266, 393
Hardy, Osgood, 142
Haring, Douglas G., 59, 73*n.*, 244*n.*
Harper, Robert A., 448
Hatt, P., 414
Hawley, Florence, 282*n.*
Hellman, Ellen, 162
Herskovits, Melville J., 59, 68*n.*, 72*n.*, 75, 304
Hertz, Frederick, 75
Hewett, Edgar L., 43, 285
Hiller, E. T., 76
Hitler, Adolph, 16
Holtom, D. C., 109*n.*
House, Floyd N., 62*n.*, 63*n.*, 76
Hu, Hsien Chin, 106*n.*
Hughes, Everett Charrington, 239*n.*, 240*n.*, 246
Hughes, Henry, 65
Hunter, Monica, 156*n.*
Huntington, Ellsworth, 69
Hutchinson, Charles E., 50*n.*, 277*n.*
Hutchison, Bruce, 236*n.*, 246

I

Ichihashi, Yamato, 369, 376
Irion, Frederick C., 349
Isaac, Julius, 361

J

Jacoby, E. H., 120
James, Preston C., 219, 229
Janowitz, Morris, 355
Janowsky, Oscar, 359
Johnson, Charles S., 323, 324
Johnson, Mary E., 59, 244*n.*
Jorrin, Miguel, 212*n.*
Joseph, Alice, 285
Jurkat, Ernest, 117*n.*

K

Karig, Walter, 142
Kastler, Norman M., 448
Keesing, Felix M., 130, 142
Keith, Arthur, 42
Kibbe, Pauline R., 330*n.*, 335*n.*, 341
Kirk, Grayson, 99
Kirk, William, 140, 162
Kisch, Guido, 184
Kiser, Louise E., 117*n.*
Kiser, L. K., 266, 432
Klineberg, Otto, 23
Kluckhohn, Clyde, 8*n.*, 23, 52*n.*, 59, 271*n.*, 273, 428*n.*, 431

Korngold, Ralph, 304
Krout, Maurice H., 24
Krug, J. A., 273*n.*
Kulischer, Eugene M., 145*n.*, 205

L

LaFarge, Oliver, 285
Landis, Paul H., 35*n.*, 389*n.*, 390*n.*, 428*n.*, 431
Landman, Solomon, 179*n.*, 347, 359
Landon, K. P., 120
Lang, Olga, 106*n.*
LaPiere, R. T., 14*n.*, 42, 378*n.*
LaPouge, V. de, 63
Lasker, Bruno, 42
Lazaron, Morris S., 357
Lee, Lt. Gen. John C. H., 300
Lee, Rose Hum, 366
Leighton, Alexander H., 376
Leighton, Dorothea S., 273
Lemert, Edwin M., 449
Lestchinsky, Jacob, 199*n.*, 353
Lewis, Roy, 205
Lichtenberger, J. P., 76
Ling, Andrew W., 142
Linton, Ralph, 52*n.*, 59, 63*n.*, 70*n.*, 76, 98, 229, 242*n.*, 285, 414, 431
Lippmann, Walter, 35
Logan, Rayford W., 323
Long, Herman H., 324
Lorimer, Frank, 266, 432
Lowie, Robert H., 164, 206

M

MacCurdy, George Grant, 121*n.*
McInnis, Edgar, 240, 246
MacIver, R. M., 324, 414
Mackay, R. A., 246
McWilliams, Carey, 266, 341, 353*n.*, 359, 368*n.*, 371*n.*, 376
Maisel, A. Q., 163
Malinowski, B., 42, 48*n.*, 133
Malthus, Thomas R., 85
Marshall, L. C., 432
Marx, Karl, 93, 201
Maswoka, Jitsuichi, 138
Maude, Angus, 205
Maugham, Robin, 163
Mead, Margaret, 285, 414
Mecklin, John M., 27
Merrill, Francis E., 410*n.*, 448
Meyer, Agnes, 335
Miller, Herbert A., 59
Monroe, Paul, 104*n.*, 120
Montesquieu, Baron de, 62, 68
Moore, Wilbert E., 190*n.*
Morris, Albert, 429*n.*
Motwani, Kewal, 114*n.*
Mukerjee, R., 98
Murphy, Gardner, 12*n.*, 24
Murphy, Lois B., 12*n.*, 24
Myrdal, Gunnar, 261, 289, 307, 324

N

Newcomb, Theodore N., 12*n.*, 24
Notestein, Frank W., 188*n.*

O

Odum, Howard W., 42
Ogburn, W. F., 99
Olcott, Mason, 101*n.*
Osborn, Fairfield, 128, 142
Ottley, Roi, 33*n.*, 304, 354

P

Paine, Thomas, 256
Park, Robert E., 59, 219
Peake, Cyrus, 99
Pearson, Karl, 67, 69
Perales, Alfonso S., 335*n.*
Pierson, Donald, 217, 223, 229
Pitkin, W. B., 432
Plant, J. S., 414
Plato, 68

R

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., 163
Ratzenhofer, Gustav, 66
Reinhardt, James M., 435*n.*, 448
Reuter, Edward B., 24, 42, 70*n.*, 76, 99
Riemer, Ruth, 376
Robinson, Charles A., 184
Robinson, J. H., 432
Rogers, E. B., 232*n.*, 246
Rose, Arnold M., 32, 266, 301*n.*, 304, 307*n.*, 346*n.*, 354, 444*n.*
Rose, Caroline, 32, 346*n.*
Roucek, Joseph S., 373*n.*, 393
Ruedi, Oreen M., 266, 431

S

Samuel, Maurice, 359
Sanchez, George I., 273*n.*, 341
Sanders, Irwin T., 206
Santos, Alfonso P., 131*n.*, 132
Sarvis, Guy W., 246
Saunders, Lyle, 325*n.*, 330*n.*
Schechtman, Joseph B., 195*n.*, 206

Schermerhorn, R. A., 252*n.*, 261*n.*, 266, 309*n.*, 341
Schesinger, Rudolph, 206
Schneider, Herman, 167*n.*
Schurz, William Lytle, 216, 229
Seabrook, William, 394
Seignobos, Charles, 174*n.*
Sharp, Walter R., 99
Shrieke, B., 366*n.*
Silcox, C. E., 359
Simonds, Frank H., 191*n.*
Singh, Gurdial, 374*n.*
Smith, T. Lynn, 381*n.*
Sorokin, Pitirim, 66
Spencer, Herbert, 69
Srole, L., 59
Steffens, Lincoln, 441
Steinberg, Milton, 359
Steiner, Jesse F., 110*n.*
Stoddard, Lothrop, 63
Stonequist, E. V., 394
Sumner, William G., 53
Sutherland, E. H., 449
Sutherland, R. L., 13*n.*, 37*n.*, 99

T

Taft, Donald R., 29, 59, 184, 394
Tawney, R. H., 200–201
Thomas, Alfred B., 285
Thompson, Laura, 285
Thompson, Virginia, 120
Thompson, W. S., 99, 382*n.*, 414
Thorndike, Lynn, 173*n.*
Tireman, L. S., 337*n.*
Townsend, Mary E., 99, 152*n.*
Toynbee, Arnold J., 198
Tuck, Ruth, 341
Turner, Frederick J., 253, 266
Twitchell, Karl S., 120
Tylor, Alice F., 206

V

Valentin, Hugo, 179
Vico, G. B., 62

W

Wagley, Charles, 223
Wagner, Gunter, 152*n.*, 163
Walker, Gen. Francis, 382
Walter, Paul A. F., Jr., 14*n.*, 99, 331*n.*, 414
Ward, Lester F., 427
Warner, W. L., 59
Washington, Booker T., 417
Weaver, Robert C., 316
Weber, Max, 200–201
Wellborn, Fred W., 148*n.*
Wells, H. G., 432
White, Leslie, 428
Whittlesey, Derwent, 184
Wilbur, Donald, 120
Willard, L., 42
Williams, Edward T., 104
Williams, Phyllis H., 394
Williams, Robin M., Jr., 266, 324
Willison, George F., 250*n.*
Wilson, Godfrey, 163
Winstedt, Richard, 142
Wirth, Louis, 359
Wissler, Clark, 24, 285
Wittke, Carl, 266, 394
Woodward, Julian L., 13*n.*, 37*n.*
Wrong, George M., 238*n.*, 246

Y

Yang, Martin C., 105*n.*
Young, Kimball, 29*n.*, 51*n.*, 405*n.*

Z

Zimmerman, Erich W., 99

SUBJECT INDEX

A

Abolitionist movement, 290, 291
Abyssinia, 147, 153, 159
Acadians, 231, 235, 237
Accommodation, 3, 49–50, 52–53, 56, 298–299, 456–457
  of Chinese, 365
  in United States, 377–393
Acculturation, 457
  in United States, 377–393
Act of Berlin, 1883, 148
Addis Ababa, 155
Aegean civilization, 170
Afghanistan, 115
Africa, 48, 81–83, 87–88, 116, 143–162, 171, 299
  early empires, 93
  map, 150
  Moslem influence, 90
  peoples, 8
  prehistory, 165, 175
  and quota laws, 380
Afrikaans language, 157
Age of Enlightenment, 180
Agrarian forces, 39, 106, 222, 224
Ainu people, 121
Air Force and Negroes, 300
Alabama, 302
Alaska, 257
Alcohol and race, 11
Alexandria, 150, 151, 178
Algeria, 117, 145, 151
Algonquin, 279
Aliens and crime, 434
Allotment Act of 1887, 280
Alpine subrace, 90, 168
  in United States, 254
Alps, 187
Alsace-Lorraine, 190, 196
Amalgamation, 49–55, 102, 137, 406
  American Negroes, 297
  of immigrants, 388, 403
  as social process, 457
Amazon River, 208
Ambivalence, 36, 40
America, 16, 62, 65, 81–83, 178, 407
  ethnic conflict, 452
America, European empires, 93
  prehistory, 165, 175
American-born Japanese, 369, 370
American Council on Race Relations, 317
"American dilemma," 261–262, 289, 315
American Federation of Labor (AFL), 299
  and Negroes, 316
  and Spanish Americans, 338
American immigration, 377–393
American Indians (Amerindians), 3, 6–7, 16, 25–26, 39, 50, 62, 225, 248–249, 406
  in Canada, 234, 241–243
  culture, 89
  family, 438
  in Latin America, 207–228
  and mestizos, 325
  poverty, 444
  unassimilated, 386
  in United States, 267–284
  (*See also* specific Indian tribes)
American Jewish Committee, 358
American Jewish Congress, 358
American Negroes, 87
  history, 286–303
  today, 305–323
American people, 52, 124, 126, 130, 225
  culture, 43, 53, 56
  history, 39
American Revolution, 251, 289, 378
Americanization, 381
Andes mountains, 208
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 145, 155
Anglo-Saxon culture, 16, 21, 27, 45, 87–89, 97, 122, 125–127, 137, 407, 408
  in Asia, 102, 110
  attitude toward poverty, 444
  in Australia, 121
  early, 174
  in India, 91
  in United States, 253, 255–257
Angola, 145
Antarctic, 79
Anthropoids, 6, 11
Anthropologists, 43–44, 70, 74, 281
  cultural, 17, 68, 72

Anthropology, 248
  physical, 7, 9, 13
Anti-Alien Land Law (California), 369
Anti-Catholicism, 350
Anti-Defamation League, 358
Anti-gentileism, 351, 355
Anti-Japanese sentiment, 368
Anit-Semitism, 26, 61, 179
  in Europe, 181, 198–200
  in United States, 342–359
Apache Indians, 267, 278, 279
Appalachian mountains, 378
Appeasement, 412
Arabia, 87, 90, 116–117, 178
  people of, 118, 131
Arabic language, 117
Aramaic tribes, 176
Arawak Indians, 226
Archaeology, 165
Arctic, 79, 82
"Areas in transition," 403
Argentina, 207, 215–228
Arizona, 3, 248, 268, 274, 278, 282, 325, 329, 333, 337, 374
Armed forces, 298
  Negroes in, 308
Armenia, 90, 111, 118, 178
Army Research Branch, 300
Aryan myth, 63, 67, 93, 173, 198
Asia, 8, 81–83, 90, 97, 122, 140, 161, 178, 407
  and "barred zone," 373, 374, 380
  Eskimos, 92
  map, 107
  races and cultures, 100–120
Asia Minor, 38, 170, 171, 176
Asiatic Russia, 103
Assam, 115
Assimilation, 31, 33, 43–58, 137, 406, 423, 457
  American Negroes, 297
  in Canada, 235
  and caste, 113
  in Europe, 182, 194
  groupwise, 56
  in United States, 377–393, 411
Athapascan Indian stock, 279
Athens, 171
Atlanta, 321
Atlantic Pact, 187
Attitudes, 18, 411
  changing, 428
  conflicting, 444
  of Jews, 357
  toward Jews, 343
  (*See also* Prejudice)
Australasia, 83
Australia, 46–47, 81, 87, 121–141
  prehistory, 176
Australoids, 122, 129, 132, 165, 166
Austria, 88, 179, 381
  prehistory, 173, 347
Austro-Hungarian Empire, 346
Autonomy, 94
Azerbaidzhanians, 111
Aztec Indians, 210, 248

B

Babylonia, 116, 170, 177–178
"Backward" peoples, 38, 95, 123, 141 146, 151, 452
Balance of power, 186
Balkans, 116, 193, 346
  prehistory, 172
Baltimore, 321
Bantu people, 147, 152, 153, 157
Baptist Church, attitude on exclusion, 363
  and Negroes, 29, 321
"Barbarians," 61, 74, 174, 407
"Barred zone," 373, 374
Bartering, 44
Bechuanaland, 155
Belgian Congo, 145, 159
Belgium, 48, 161
  in Africa, 148
  prehistory, 166
Beliefs, 22, 44–46
  racial, 14–18
Bella Coola Indians, 243
Bering Sea, 101
Bible, 62
Bilingualism, 336, 337
"Bill of Rights" of Negroes, 295
Biology of races, 4–8, 16–22, 32, 62–6 70
Biometric theory, 67
Birmingham, 321
Birth rate, 83, 445
  American Negro, 308
  European, 188
  and infant mortality, 443
  native American, 382
  Oriental, 361
Bismarck Archipelago, 124
Black Belt in Chicago, 314
Blackfellow, 127
"Blood bond," 66
Boers, 156
Bolivia, 215
Bombay, 102
Borneo, 128
Boston, 253
Boycotts against Japanese, 368
Brahman religion, 113, 114

Brazil, 25, 26, 81, 83, 207–228, 309
Bridgeport, Connecticut, 349
Britain, 3, 38, 63, 87, 94
  immigrants from, 381
  in Middle Ages, 173
British Columbia, 241
British Commonwealth, 73, 155, 161
British Empire, 27, 38, 91–94, 134, 175
  in Africa, 158–159
  and Canada, 233–235
  in India, 113
British Isles (*see* Britain)
British West Indies, 215
Bronze Age, 169
"Brotherhood of man," 397, 424
Buddhism, 104, 113–116
Buenos Aires, 81, 208
Bureau of Indian Affairs, 50, 254
  (*See also* Indian Service)
Burgundians, 174
Burma, 101, 115, 116
Business cycles, 380
Byzantium, 172

C

Cairo, 150, 151
Calcutta, 102
Calgary, 233
California, 136, 252, 268, 325, 329, 332, 333, 362
Cameroun, 145
Canada, 81, 82, 87, 230–245, 248
Canadians in United States, 264
Canal Zone, 215
Capitalism, 117, 423
Carib Indians, 210, 226
Caribbean Islands, 207–228, 251
  and slavery, 309
Carolina colony, 287
Caroline Islands, 124, 125
Carrier Indians, 243
Carthage, 171
Case histories, 445
Caste, 13, 70, 398, 457
  in India, 113
  among Negroes in United States, 296, 312, 313, 322
Caste systems, 20, 38, 45, 49, 55, 65, 102
Catholic Church (*see* Roman Catholic Church)
Caucasia, 111, 187
Caucasoid race, 7, 27, 83–87, 97, 126–127
  in Africa, 146
  in Asia, 103, 112
  in Australasia, 121
  in Hawaii, 136
Caucasoid race, in Latin America, 208, 215
  in United States, 254
Celtic language and "race," 63, 173
Central Africa, 151–155
Central America, 207–228
Ceremonials, Navaho, 271
  Pueblo Indian, 276, 277
Chamorro, 134
Chauvinism, 65
  in Europe, 201
  in Japan, 110
Cherokee Indians, 281
Chicago, 260, 298, 310, 321, 325, 334
Chickasaw Indians, 281
Child psychology, 36
Chile, 215, 219
China, 3, 85, 100–120
  "open door," 93
  (*See also* Chinese)
Chinatowns, 362, 364, 375, 440
Chinese, 7, 16, 22, 88, 97, 124–126, 130–136
  in Canada, 233–234, 245
  culture of, 90, 91, 103–109, 411
  in Latin America, 218
  in United States, 264, 362–366, 378
Choctaw Indians, 281
"Chosen people," 351, 353, 407
Christian era, 122
Christian heritage, 87
Christian instruction, 16
Christianity, 61–62, 135, 178, 423
  in Africa, 147, 154, 157
  in Armenia, 90
  in Asia, 118
  beginnings of, 172, 177, 181, 183
  in Europe, 176, 201
  in India, 114
  and Judaism, 351
  and Navahos, 271, 275
  and Pueblo Indians, 276, 277
  and Roman Empire, 93
  among slaves, 291
Christians, 46, 61, 74, 179
Civil rights, 48, 436
  of Negroes, 294, 297–298, 317
Civil War (*see* War between the States)
Clan organization, Navahos, 270
  Pueblo Indians, 275, 276
Class structure, 11–13, 20, 70
  in Europe, 184–185, 201–205
  feudal, 183
  in Latin America, 219–220
  in United States, 263
Class systems, 20, 45, 49, 55, 129, 398, 457
Classification of races, 7–10

Climatic determinism, 68, 69, 80
Colombia, 215–228
Colonial partition of Africa, 148
Colonial peoples, 38, 56, 94, 129
Colonial period, 249
Colonial policy, 160–161
Color line, 31, 43, 51, 87, 96, 102, 157, 416, 420
  in Canada, 235
  in United States, 255–256, 262, 263, 301, 306, 366
Colorado, 325, 329, 333, 334
"Colored" races, 434
Communism, 89, 96, 407, 423
  in Asia, 118
  and Negroes, 301, 317, 318
  origins, 176
Communist propaganda, 402, 452
Community, 79
  problems of, 3
  disorganization of, 440–442
Comparative intelligence, 11–13
Comparative mental capacity, 11–13, 385
Competition, 450
  ethnic, 405
  for land, 39, 41, 55
Concubinage, 365
Conflict, 450
  ethnic, 280, 397, 405, 412
  racial, 15, 182
  sociology of, 65
Confucius, 104
Congo River Basin, 143, 147, 148, 161
Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 299, 316, 338
Conquistadores, 211, 249
Conservative Jewry, 352
Constitution, 50
Cooperation, 405, 450
Coordination of policies, 425, 426
Coptic Christians, 147, 154
Costa Rica, 215, 219
Council, for Civic Unity, 339
  on Education of Spanish-speaking People, 339
  for the Study of Human Relations, 339
Creek Indians, 281
Creoles, 211
Crete, 170, 183
Crime, 444
Criminology, 385, 433–437
Criteria of races, 5–13, 79, 87
Croats, 378
Cro-Magnon man, 167–169
Crusades, 62, 174, 175, 179
Cuba, 215, 226
Cultural anthropologists, 17, 68, 72
  (*See also* Anthropology)
Cultural islands, 386
Cultural pluralism, 417
Cultural relativism, 70–71, 75, 420
"Cultural snob," 411
Culture, 18–19, 93
  borrowing of, 45
  change in, 71
  complexes, 44–45
  group, 20
  lag in, 46
  transmission of, 18–20, 169
Culturology, 72
Customs, 6, 17–20, 43, 50, 61, 70, 85–86, 89, 132
  of Holy Land, 175
  of Jews, 347
  of Navahos, 270
  of Negro communities, 312
Czechs, 378, 381

D

"Danger spots" in Europe, 196
Danish immigration, 378
Danube Basin, 61, 116, 172, 192–194
  prehistory, 168, 170
Dark Ages, 147, 161, 172, 183
Darwinian evolutionary theory, 63, 69
Dawn man, 167, 183
Dayton, Ohio, 349
Death rate, 83
  in Africa, 144
  in Asia, 115
  in Europe, 188
  of minorities, 442, 445
  in United States, 255
Definition of race, 4, 5–7, 12–13, 15
Delayed-action programs, 417, 418
Delinquency, 444, 445
Demagogues, 39
Democracy, 22, 27, 95–98, 407
  in India, 114
  in Japan, 110
Demography, 248, 421, 445, 450, 457
  of Latin America, 209
  of Pueblo Indians, 276
  of United States, 259–261
Demoralization, 185
Denver, 349
Depression of 1930's, 297–299
Detroit, 319, 334
Diaspora, 178, 180
Dictatorships, 203
Differentiation, 403, 406, 424
Diffusion, 45–46, 96

Discrimination, 32, 48, 417
  against Chinese, 367–368
  against Jews, 354–357
  against migratory workers, 441
  against Negroes, 297–299, 301, 444
Diseases, racial, 11
Displaced persons, 197
  during Reconstruction, 294
District of Columbia, 292
Divorce and desertion, 437
Dominance, 97
Dominant groups, 50–58, 73, 410
  in Africa, 146
  in Canada, 235, 240, 245
  and imperialism, 94
  and Negro community, 312
  and policy, 417
  in United States, 257, 365, 389
Dominion status, 94
  of Canada, 230
Doukhobors in Canada, 235–236
Dutch, 161
  in Africa, 156
  and slave trade, 287
Dutch Empire, 88, 122, 129

E

East Africa, 53, 144, 150
East Indians, 116
  in Africa, 146, 158
  in United States, 374
East Indies, 103, 121, 122, 124, 129
Eastern Europe, 190
Ecological processes, 403–405
Economic imperialism, 94, 95
  in India, 114
Ecuador, 215, 216, 219
Ecumene in Canada, 231
Education, 69, 416, 419, 443, 444
Egypt, 117, 145–147, 155–159, 178
  Moslem, 90
  prehistory, 170–172, 183
Ejido in Mexico, 221
Emancipation, 252, 293–295
Emigrations, 86
Empires, 48, 58, 96
Employment, 39
England, 25–27, 38, 65, 82, 86, 298
  and slave trade, 287, 288
  (*See also* Britain)
English people, 52, 225
  in India, 114
  in Latin America, 220
  in United States, 250
Environment and race, 6
Eolithic man, 167
Eskimos, 7, 47, 92
  in Asia, 103
  in Canada, 233–235, 245
  poverty of, 444
Ethiopia, 145
  (*See also* Abyssinia)
Ethnic groups, 21–23
  (*See also* Social pathology)
Ethnocentrism, 21–22, 25–41, 52, 57, 71, 74, 411, 458
Eugenics, 67–70
Europe, 63–64, 81–83, 116–117, 185–205
  and Africa, 144–145, 148
  and Asia, 102
  Chinese influence on, 91
  historical background, 164–184
  map, 189
  in Middle Ages, 92
  Slavic, 90
European dominance, 64–65
European expansion, 377
Exclusion laws, 361–363, 367

F

Fair Employment laws, 425
Fallacies about races, 15–17, 384, 385
Family, 20, 79
  discord in, 433, 444, 445
  Negro, 311, 312
Fascism, 348
Federal policy, 267–269, 272–278, 280–283, 292–297
Federal unity in Canada, 232, 244
Feudalism, 183, 199
Fifteenth Amendment, 295
Fiji Islands, 124–125
Filipinos, 124, 136
  in United States, 264, 371, 373
First World War, 65, 96, 134, 298–299
  and Africa, 154
  and Europe, 195–196
  and Negroes, 297–302
Florida, 252, 302
Folk culture, 221, 327
Folkways, 20, 74, 457
  Jewish, 352
Foreign-born population, 381
Foreign relations, 390–392
Formal incorporation, 49, 52–53, 56
Formosa, 108, 123, 141
Fourteenth Amendment, 294–295
France, 25–26, 38, 48, 89, 160–161, 179, 298
  population decline, 188
  prehistory, 166–168

Franchise, 281, 294–297
Freedman's Bureau, 294–297
French Canadians, 89, 231, 236–245
French Empire, 93, 151
  in Africa, 158
  in America, 252
French Equatorial Africa, 145
French Guinea, 152
French Indo-China (*see* Indo-China)
French language, 88
  in Canada, 237
French Revolution, 180
French West Africa, 145
Frontier, 253, 319

G

Gabon, 152
Gallic culture, 171
"Gangs," 435
Gaul, 171–172
Genetics, 7, 10, 11
"Gentlemen's agreement," 368, 369
Geographic determinism, 68–69
Geopolitics, 101
Georgia, Republic of, 111
  state of, 287, 302
German Empire, 92–93
  in Africa, 149, 155
German immigration, 219, 228, 233, 291, 348
Germany, 38, 65, 82, 88, 174, 378, 381, 392
  Jews, 181, 351
  minorities abroad, 194–195
  Nazis, 179, 185
  population, 188
Ghettos, 404, 440
  European, 181, 345
Gilbert Islands, 124
Gobi Desert, 100, 102
Gobinism, 63, 65
Gold Coast, 145
Goths, 174
Government, 68
Graeco-Roman culture, 87–88, 171–172, 176, 182
Greece, 169–171, 183
Greeks, 378
Greenland, 82
Groupwise assimilation, 56
Guadalcanal, 124
Guam, 124, 134
Guatemala, 207, 213, 215, 216, 219
Guianas, 226, 227

H

Haiti, 225–226
  slave revolt, 290
Hamitic people, 146, 151, 161
Harlem, 33, 298, 310, 314, 334
Hawaii, 21, 89, 124, 135–138, 141, 371, 372
Health, 335, 337
  of Negro, 444
Health problems, 442, 443
Hebrew language, 352
Hellenic culture, 171, 177, 183
Heredity, 6, 8, 11, 31, 70
Himalaya, 101, 115
Hindus, 131, 374
  culture, 91, 92
  religion, 114
Hispanic culture, 327
Hitlerism, 348
Holy Land, 61
Holy Roman Empire, 174
Honduras, 215
Honolulu, 125
Hottentots, 158
Housing problem, 320, 443
Hudson Bay Company, 235
Hungary, 173

I

Iceland, 82
Ideologies, 3, 20, 22–33, 47, 96, 161, 397, 402, 420, 458
  in China, 106
  Christian, 161
  conflicts in, 95–96
  European, 202–203
  Greek and Roman, 172
  in India, 114
  nationalistic, 407
  in United States, 316
Illegitimacy, 32, 311, 437–438
Immigrant press, 391
Immigration, 22, 38–39, 51–52, 137–138, 225, 298–299, 360, 442
  into Africa, 144, 147
  into Canada, 233–236
  into Europe, 192
  European, 316, 342, 407
  Irish, 378, 381
  Latin-American, 326
  Mexican, 325, 408
  Norwegian and Swedish, 378
  Old, 345, 378–379, 381
  into United States, 252–254, 264, 377–393
Immigration Act of 1924, 381

Immigration laws, 367, 374
Immigration policy, 421
Immunities, racial, 11
Imperialism, 37–38, 41, 88, 93–95
  in Asia, 118
  decline in, 98
In-group, 28, 33, 405
  Jewish, 181
Inaction as policy, 415, 418
Inca "Empire," 210, 248
Indentured labor, 133
India, 3, 38, 39, 63, 91, 96, 100, 112–115, 173
  colonization, 175
  population, 101
  urbanization, 102
Indian problem, 282–283, 425
Indian reservations, 267–284
Indian Service, 50, 251–252, 268, 270, 272, 277, 281
Indian Territory, 281
Indianismo, 216
Indians (*see* American Indians)
Indo-China, 103, 115, 116, 374
Indo-European hypothesis, 173
Indonesia, 121–122, 128–132, 139, 140, 399
Industrial Revolution, 182, 183, 377
  and Negroes, 293–294
Industrialization, 39, 117, 346, 382
  in Africa, 146
  in Canada, 230–232, 238
  in India, 113
  in Japan, 100, 106
  in Latin America, 273
  in United States, 258
Inequality of Human Races, The, 63
Infant mortality, 188, 337
Inferiority, racial, 15, 25, 140, 248, 407
Inner Mongolia, 108
Inquisition, 178, 180
Instinct, 17, 66, 248
Institutions, 15, 67–68, 89, 94, 450
  ancient, 105–106
  Canadian, 239–240
  Chinese, 105–106
  slavery, 288–289, 293
Intelligence, comparative, 11–13
Intermarriage, 31-32, 50–51, 53, 57, 327
  of Jews, 344
  of Negroes, 297, 301, 308
  of Orientals, 360, 365
  second generation, 388
Intermixture, 137, 305
International politics, 199, 360
Internationalism, 95, 98
Interracial education, 317
"Interstitial" areas, 435–436
Intolerance, 33
Invasion, 404
Invasions of Europe, 175
Iran (Persia), 90, 111, 116
Iranian language, 173
Iraq, 90, 116–117
Irish, 38, 93
  in Canada, 234, 245
  immigration of, 378, 381
  in United States, 262
Irish Republic, 391
Iron age, 169
"Iron curtain," 187, 204
Iroquoian Indian stock, 279
Islam, 116–117
Isolation, 3, 70, 139
  in Canada, 233, 235–236
  of immigrants, 386
  of rural communities, 440
  of Tibet, 102
Isolationism, 391
Israel, 96, 116
  "lost tribes," 62
Italian East Africa, 145
Italian immigration, 261, 378, 381
Italy, 15–16, 48, 82, 87, 89, 160–161, 179
  and Africa, 148, 154
  and Latin America, 219, 228
  prehistory, 169
Ivory Coast, 152

J

Jainism, 114
Jamaica, 225
Japan, 3, 47, 82, 100–103, 123, 134, 141
  culture, 109, 110, 119
  imperialism, 93, 94
  industrialization, 100, 106
  and United States, 425
Japanese people, 16, 22, 32, 97, 116, 124–125, 131, 136, 138, 367–371
  in Canada, 245
  in United States, 261, 264, 370
Java, 82, 122, 128, 374
Jerusalem, 178, 440
Jewish Labor Committee, 258
Jewish Pale, 181
Jews, 16, 40, 61, 65, 178–179
  and Christianity, 172
  early history, 176–182
  in Europe, 198–200
  family stability, 438
  in Israel, 90, 118
  in U.S.S.R., 111
  in United States, 261, 342–359, 378, 386

Jicarilla Apache Indians, 278
"Jim Crowism," 297
Judaic civilization, 177
Judaism, 178, 351, 357
Jutland, 168
Juvenile delinquency, 390

K

Kanaka, 134
Kentucky, 263
Kenya, 145, 153, 155, 159
Kiwanis, 225
Korea, 97, 103, 136, 454
Kshatriya caste, 113
Ku Klux Klan, 296
Kurds, 111
Kwajalein, 124

L

Labor, 223–224
  and immigration, 379–380
Labor pyramid, 264–265, 379
Labor unions, 299
Laguna pueblo, 274
Land and resources, 84
Land frontier, 230
Language, 15–16, 67, 73, 87, 89, 129, 135, 327, 364, 407
  of Amerindians, 268
  in Canada, 237
  Hebrew, 352
  and immigration, 384, 389
  in Latin America, 220
  and nationalism, 93
  prehistoric, 169
Latin America, 63, 82–83, 88–89, 207–228, 248, 444
  map, 214
  peoples, 94
  and quota laws, 380
  and United States, 254, 264, 326
Latin culture, 88–89, 97, 173
"Latin Quarter," 386
Law, 20, 85–88
Law enforcement, 436
League of Nations, 82, 148, 190, 196
League of United Latin American Citizens (Lulacs), 338
Legends, Pueblo, 275
Legislation, 69
Leopold of Belgium, 148
Levels of policy, 424–426
Liberia, 145, 153–154, 159, 161, 292
Libya, 117, 151
"Little Italy," 386, 440
"Little Russia," 440
"Little Tokyo," 368
Living standards, 188, 445
Los Angeles, 300, 333
Louisiana, 302
Louisiana Purchase, 251, 290, 379
Low countries, 88
Loyalty, 28
Luzon, 130
Lynching, 32, 297, 318–320

M

Madagascar, 145–146, 149, 158
Magyar language, 194
Malaya, 87, 101, 114–116, 121–129
Malaysia, 122–126, 130, 135
Man-land distribution, 85–86
Manchuria (Manchoukuo), 91, 103, 108
Mandate, 161
"Manifest destiny," 258
Manila, 123, 130
Maori people, 122, 128, 140
Marginal groups, 53, 353, 389–390, 436
Marginal workers, 264–265
Mariana Islands, 124
Maritime Provinces, 234, 241
Marquesas Islands, 124
Marshall Islands, 124
Marxism, 96, 98, 176, 202
Mayan "Empire," 210, 248
Medieval church, 62
Mediterranean Sea, 88, 186
Mediterranean subrace, 146, 168, 192
  in Latin America, 213
Mediterranean world, 61, 171, 176–177
Megalithic culture, 169
Melanesians, 88, 103, 116, 121–126, 132, 139
  in Africa, 158
"Melting pot," 54, 125, 384
Mental capacity, comparative, 11–13, 385
Mescalero Apache Indians, 278
Mesopotamia, 183
Mestizos, 89, 207, 212–228
  in American southwest, 274, 444
Methodist Church and Negroes, 291
Mexican border, 328
Mexican War, 224, 269, 275, 325, 379
Mexicans, 225, 332
  in United States, 254–255, 261, 384, 439
Mexico, 39, 207–228, 248, 325, 326
  and quota laws, 380
  and United States, 425
Mexico City, 209
Micronesia, 124, 126, 133–134, 139

Middle Ages, 61, 92, 173–175, 204
Middle class, 202
  in Latin America, 222–223
Middle West, 264, 325
Migrations, 22, 85, 140, 178, 225, 401
  African, 146
  Asiatic, 91, 100, 112
  Canadian, 230
  European, 187
  in United States, 261, 300
  (*See also* Immigration)
Migratory workers, 329, 439, 441
Militarism, 19, 28, 160
Mindanao, 130
Minnesota, 268
Minoan civilization, 171
Minorities, 21, 95, 356, 404, 408, 417, 425, 442
  in Canada, 240
  European, 191, 194–200
  Jewish, 342
  in United States, 261, 383
Miscegenation, 50
  in Brazil, 222–223
Missionaries, 46, 136, 139, 160, 321
  in Africa, 156
  in Canada, 243
  in Latin America, 209–210
  in United States, 251
Mississippi, 302
Mob violence, 319
Mobility, 263–264, 404, 415
Mohammedanism, 90–91, 104, 114, 116, 119, 161, 177–178, 351
  in Africa, 146, 151, 154
  in Philippines, 130
Moieties, 275
Mongolia, 102, 103
  peoples of, 7, 103
Mongoloid race, 7–8, 83, 90, 97, 121, 125–126, 129, 132, 134, 210
Monogenetic theory, 10–11
Monroe Doctrine, 212
Monrovia, 154
Montana, 268
Montreal, 231–232, 236, 238
Moors, 61
Morale, 28, 455
Morality, 29, 423, 445
Mores, 51, 53, 306, 352, 457
Mormons, 62
Morocco, 117, 145, 147, 151
Moslem peoples, 74, 90–91, 93, 117, 119, 161, 178
  in Africa, 147
  in Spain, 172
  (*See also* Mohammedanism)
Motives, 36, 458
Mozambique, 145, 158
Mulattoes, 25, 225
  in Brazil, 215–218
Muskhogean Indian stock, 279
Mutations, 70
Mutilations, deliberate, 6
Myths, 271, 275, 308

N

Nation, 28, 79
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 317
National Farm Labor Union, 339
National Urban League, 317
Nationalism, 92–98, 130–131, 340, 346, 407–408
  in Canada, 240
  in Europe, 182–183, 185–186, 191, 194, 203
  and immigrants, 384
  in Latin America, 207, 212–213, 219–220
Nationality, 15–16, 22, 67, 74, 93, 129
Native Indian religion, 220
Natural catastrophes, 445
Natural increase, 176, 361
Naturalization, 360, 371, 373, 389
Navaho Indians, 267, 269–274
Navajo Village, 274
Nazi propaganda, 402
Nazis, 63, 185, 198, 347–348
  and Jews, 199
Neanderthal man, 166–169
Near East, 117
Negrillo, 8
Negrito, 8, 112, 121–122, 130, 132, 140
Negro problem, 296, 300–305, 322
Negroes, 3, 8, 20, 25–28, 31–33, 38–39, 45, 50, 53, 87, 127, 354
  in armed forces, 289, 292
  in Brazil, 22, 228
  in Canada, 233–234, 245
  church, 321
  education, 320
  in Latin America, 215, 217–218
  living standards, 399, 444
  press, 320
  in United States, 251–252, 261–266, 386, 404, 418
Negroid race, 7–8, 63, 83, 89, 97, 122, 126, 132, 225
  in Africa, 143–162
  characteristics, 124
  in India, 112
  in Pacific area, 121
  in United States, 254
Neolithic man, 165–169, 183

Net reproduction rates, 82
Netherlands, 88, 122, 129
Netherlands Indies, 122, 125
Nevada, 81
New Amsterdam, 250, 287
New Brunswick, 234
New Caledonia, 124
New Deal for Indians, 281
New England, 87, 334, 378
New Englanders in Canada, 231
New Guinea, 121, 124–125, 132, 374
New immigration, 253–254, 346, 378–383
New Jersey, 287, 291
New Mexico, 3, 248, 267–268, 274, 278, 281–282, 325, 329, 331, 335, 337
New York, 264, 302, 334, 354
New York City, 3, 33, 81, 253, 260, 319, 321, 325, 342, 441
New Zealand, 87, 121–122, 125, 127–128, 134–135, 139
Newfoundland, 237
Niger River, 143, 148, 152, 161
Nigeria, 145
Nile River Valley, 147, 150, 155, 170
Nomads, 174
Nordic subrace, 87–88
  in Australasia, 127
  in United States, 254
Normans, 52, 174
Norsemen, 169
North Africa, 89–90, 144, 149
North America, 81–82, 100, 134, 377
Northern Rhodesia, 145, 155
Northwest Territory, 289
Norwegian immigration, 378
Nova Scotia, 233–234
Nyasaland, 155

O

Occupations, 314
Oceania, 81
Ohio, 260, 291
Ohio River, 291
Oklahoma, 268, 279, 300–301
Old immigration, 345, 378–379, 381
Old Stone Age, 167–169
Old-world culture, 56
Ontario, 231
"Open-door" policy, 3, 93, 361
Orient, 16, 47, 185
Orientals, 3, 39, 87
  in Canada, 233–235
  in Latin America, 218–219, 228
  in United States, 253–255, 264, 360–376, 386
Origin of Species, The, 428
Orinoco River, 208
Orthodox Catholicism, 172, 200, 352
Osage Indians, 279
Out-group, 28, 33, 181

P

Pacific Coast, 3, 25
  Orientals, 360–376
Pacific islands, 8, 91–92, 121–141
Pacific Ocean, 121, 135, 140
Pakistan, 90, 112
Paleolithic man, 165–169, 183
Palestine, 117–118, 172, 176, 352
Panaceas, 419
Panama Canal, 217, 226
Papal State, 200
Papuans, 121–122, 125, 132
Paraguay, 89
Parana-Uruguay River, 208
Parsees, 113
Particularistic theories, 40
"Passing," 31, 308
Patriotism, 28, 65, 129
Peiping, 102
Pennsylvania, 260, 262, 287, 289, 291
"Pennsylvania Dutch," 378
Peon class, 222
Peonage, legalized, 252
Persian Empire, 177–178
Personality, 35, 409–410, 413
Peru, 210, 213, 215–219
Philippines, 89, 123, 125, 130–134, 139–141
  and United States, 361, 371
  (*See also* Filipinos)
Philologists, 63, 67
Phoenicians, 171
Physiology of races, 4–8, 16–22, 32, 62–63, 70
Picuris pueblo, 274
Pigmentation, skin, 9, 31
Pilgrims in New England, 250
Pittsburgh, 260
Plains Indians, 241–242, 250
Plantation system, 136
Pogroms, 179, 198
Poisons, racial, 15
Poland, 82, 87, 179, 181, 346
Policy, 415–431
Political machines, 441–442
Pollution ideology, 313, 327
Polynesia, 122–128, 133–135
"Poor whites," 39, 137, 399
Population, 86
  of Asia, 100–101
  of Australia and Pacific islands, 125, 127

Population, of Europe, 187, 190–191
  of Indonesia, 128–130
Portugal, 38, 48, 161
Portuguese Empire, 93, 175
Portuguese people, 38, 48, 136, 161
  in Africa, 147, 158
  in Brazil, 219
  and slave trade, 287
Poverty, 144–145, 314, 330, 335–336
  in Africa, 151
  in Asia, 100
  among Indians, 244
  in Latin America, 221
  of Orientals, 361
  and race, 13, 399
Power relations, 38–39, 41
Prehistory, 80, 164–169, 248
Prehuman types, 10
Prejudice, 25–27, 38–39, 43, 48–49, 51–52, 57, 137, 384, 444
Primitive peoples, 40, 124–125
Primitiveness of races, 11, 15, 306
Prince Edward Island, 234
Proclamation of Emancipation, 293–295
Promiscuity, 311
Propaganda, 199
  communist, 301
Protestants, 87, 90, 127, 182, 344
  in Canada, 240
  in Europe, 200–201
  among Navahos, 271
Pseudoscience, 64, 74, 451
Psychology, 36, 457
  racial, 11–12
Public Opinion Institute, 349
Pueblo Indians, 11, 43, 50, 226, 248–250, 267, 274–278
Puerto Rico, 3, 33, 215, 328, 334, 384
Pygmies, 152
Pyrenees, 187

Q

Quakers, 287, 288
Quebec, 232, 237–239
Quota laws, 343, 346–347, 363, 380, 392, 426

R

Race mixture, 6, 13, 20, 64, 177, 406
"Race purity," 32, 64
Race riots, 32, 317, 406
Race Struggle, 65
Racial diseases and immunity, 11
Racial inferiority, 15, 25, 140, 248, 407
Racial myths, 183, 306
Racial superiority, 15, 25, 28, 64, 248, 407
Racial temperament, 11–13
Racism, 16, 25, 28, 62, 63
"Radicals," 34, 349
Rationalization, 32, 36–41, 64, 307
Red Sea, 155, 161
Reformation, 175, 182, 200–201
Reformed synagogue, 351–352
Refugees, 345
Rehabilitation of Navahos, 273
Religion, 5, 15–16, 19, 32, 44–46, 61, 67–68, 74, 89, 116–117, 134, 178
  Chinese, 91, 364
  conflict, 96
  European map, 200–201
  fanaticism, 28
  Japanese, 109
  Jews, 184, 351
  Latin American, 220
  Navaho, 270–274
  Pueblo Indian, 275–276
Relocation centers, 370
Renaissance, 175
Reorganization Act of 1933, 281
Reproduction rates, 82
Research, 420, 428
Reservation Indians, 3, 267–284
Resistance to change, 71
Revolution, 216, 220, 222–224
Rhine River, 173
Rhodesia, 145, 155
Rio Grande Valley, 251, 274, 329, 339
Rio de Janeiro, 81, 208
Rituals, 43
Roanoke, Virginia, 349
Roman Catholic Church, 88–89, 134, 172, 182
  in Canada, 238, 243
  and early empires, 175
  in Europe, 200–201
  and Jews, 344
  in Latin America, 207, 220
  and Navahos, 271
  and Pueblo Indians, 275
  and Slavs, 90
  and Spain, 93, 123
  and Spanish-Americans, 327
Roman Empire, 38, 61, 93, 171–172, 178
Romance languages, 88, 173
Rotary, international, 225
Ruanda-Urandi, 145
Russia, 38, 86, 89, 106, 172, 178, 181
  in Asia, 102–103, 110–112, 119
  demography, 188
  revolution, 185
  (*See also* Soviet Union)

S

Sahara Desert, 81, 143–144, 152
St. Lawrence Valley, 232, 235, 241, 244
Samoa, 124
San Carlos Apache Indians, 278
San Francisco, 300, 362
San Ildefonso pueblo, 277
Sanskrit, 173
Santo Domingo pueblo, 226
Sao Paulo, 209
Saskatchewan, 233
Saudi Arabia, 117
Scandinavia, 88, 169
"Scapegoatism," 32, 41, 347
Science, 29, 60, 67, 114, 397, 401, 418, 427–430, 451
Scientists, 4–5, 15, 29
  social, 13, 60
Scotch, in Canada, 234, 245
  in United States, 253
Scotch-Irish immigration, 378
Scotland, 73
Seattle, 300
Second-generation immigrants, 383, 388, 436
Second World War, 32, 47, 65, 118, 123–124, 134, 141, 299
  and Africa, 146, 149, 154
  and Europe, 185, 196
  and Negroes, 303
  and Spanish Americans, 331
Segregation, 32, 48
  in Africa, 157
  of migratory workers, 441
  of Negroes, 297–300
Self-determination, 95, 123
Seminole Indians, 281
Semitic peoples, 16, 112, 117, 161
  in Africa, 147, 149, 155
  languages, 90
  in Palestine, 176
Sephardic Jews, 178, 180
Serbian immigration, 378
Sharecroppers, 314
Shinto religion, 109
Shoshonean Indians, 279
Shudra caste, 113
Siberia, 83, 86, 101–102, 112, 176
Sicily, 170, 175
Sierra Leone, 145
Sikhs, 114, 115
Sinkiang, 108
Siouan Indian stock, 279
Skin pigmentation, 9, 31
Slave traffic, 147–148, 152, 159, 217
  in United States, 251–252, 286, 289
Slavery, 38, 49, 68
Slavic peoples, 89–90, 97, 174
Social control, 389
  disorganization, 128, 410
  experimentation, 424
  heritage, 44
  inhibitions, 7
  lag, 48
  stratification, 11–12, 222, 225, 312–315
  structure, 20, 399, 457
  transmission, 70
Social Darwinism, 69
Social pathology, 433–448
Social psychology, 25, 30, 33, 36
Social sciences, 13, 35, 61, 412, 427, 428, 453
Social security, 3, 282
Social visibility, 31, 41
  of Amerindians, 279
  of Filipinos, 371
  of Jews, 346
  of Spanish Americans, 326–327
Socialism, 423
  in Europe, 199
  and Jews, 202
Socialization, 19, 34, 409, 420, 457
Society Islands, 124
Sociology, 13, 23, 28, 43, 68–74, 281, 413, 427–428, 454–458
Soil Conservation Service, 339
Solomon Islands, 124–125
South Africa, 27, 87, 96, 146, 155–158, 161, 176
South America, 81, 207–208, 215
South Carolina, 302
South Dakota, 268
South Pacific, 134, 249
Southern Rhodesia, 145, 155
Southwest Council on Education of Spanish Speaking People, 339
Soviet Union, 90, 93, 97, 100, 111, 119, 392, 452
  expansion, 196–198
  minorities, 195
Spain, 38, 61, 89, 134–136, 178, 249
Spanish-American War, 361, 371
Spanish Empire, 207, 325
Spanish people, 88, 134, 225, 325
  in American southwest, 275–276
Spanish-speaking Americans, 325–340
Status, 129, 138, 262, 263
  of immigrants, 404
  political, 55
Status quo, 38, 96, 224, 417, 456
Stereotypes, 33–35, 41, 390
  of American Negroes, 252, 310
  of Jews, 355–356
Stigmata, 31, 36, 50, 350, 356, 446–447

Stonehenge, 169
Strike breakers, 380, 442
Subordinate groups, 31, 38, 43, 48, 51–53, 97
Subraces, 67, 79, 87, 102, 124
  of Europe, 192–193
  in Russia, 111
Suez Canal, 149
Sumatra, 82, 128, 141
Superiority, racial, 15, 25, 28, 64, 248, 407
Survival, 79, 408–409
  "of the fittest," 69
Swedish immigration, 378
Symbols, 28, 43–44
Syria, 170

T

Tanganyika Territory, 145, 155
Taoism, 104
Tasmania, 122, 128
Technology, 67, 89, 401, 408, 454
Temperament, racial, 11–13
Tennessee, 263, 302
Teutonic language, 173
Texas, 224, 379
  Spanish Americans in, 325, 328–329
Texas Good Neighbor Commission, 339
Thailand, 101, 103, 108, 115–116
Theocratic organization, 278
Theories, of culture, 68–69
  of race, 5, 10–11, 25, 60–62, 72
  theological, 62
Thirteenth Amendment, 294–295
Three-generation process, 388
Tibet, 103, 108, 249
Toda, 113
Tokyo, 102
"Tong wars," 365
Toronto, 231–232
"Total" war, 403
Totalitarian states, 89
Traders, 136, 160
  in Africa, 156, 162
  among Navahos, 272
Tradition, 15, 17, 19, 34, 85
Transjordan, 116–117
Treaties with Amerindians, 280
Tribal cultures, 141, 153, 158, 267–284
Trieste, 191
Trobriand Islands, 133
Tunisia, 117, 145
Turanians, 117
Turkey, 62, 90, 111, 116, 118

U

Uganda, 48, 145, 155
Ukrainians in Canada, 233
Unassimilated ethnic groups, 386
"Underground railway," 290–291
Unemployment, 298, 379
Union of South Africa, 82, 145–146, 149, 155–159
U.S.S.R. (*see* Soviet Union)
United Nations, 95, 424
United States, 3, 20–26, 31, 38, 45, 50, 73, 80–88, 94, 110, 134, 161, 224–225
  and Africa, 153
  and Canada, 230–231
  and Europe, 185
  and Hawaii, 136
  and Latin America, 208, 212, 228
Ural Mountains, 111
Urban communities, 79
Urbanization, 114, 117, 119, 123, 136, 209, 299, 382
  in Canada, 238–239
  in Europe, 183
  of Negroes, 308
  of Spanish-Americans, 332
Uruguay, 215
Utah, 269
Utopian policy, 421, 454

V

Vaishya caste, 113
Value systems, 12, 411
Vandals, 174
Veda religion, 114
Venezuela, 208, 215
Virgin Islands, 226
Virginia, 286–287, 289, 302
Voodoo rites, 226

W

Waco, Texas, 336
Wage, 39
War, 28, 66, 104, 106, 391, 403, 459
  in Europe, 191
  of Independence, 211
  and living standards, 445
War between the States, 3, 39, 257, 290, 292–294, 400, 425, 441
War industries and Negro, 300
Washington, D.C., 268
Welfare organizations, 447
Welsh in Canada, 234
West Africa, 53
West Indies and slavery, 286–288

Western civilization, 87–98, 114–118, 127–129, 132, 136, 139, 141, 407, 424
  attitude toward poverty, 444
  expansion, 175
  and nationalism, 408
  origins, 170–172, 182
  and science, 429
Western Europe, 38
  demography, 188, 190
"Wetbacks," 225, 330
"White" Australia, 127
White supremacy, 26, 256
Winnipeg, 231
Wisconsin, 268
Witchcraft among Navahos, 270–271
World culture, 422
World population, 80
World trade, 86
World wars, 223, 308, 408, 411
  and Canada, 230
  and Navahos, 272
  (*See also* First World War; Second World War)

Y

Yemen, 117
Yiddish dialect, 350
Yugoslavs in United States, 261

Z

Zanzibar, 155
Zionism, 342, 348, 352, 391
"Zoot suiters," 333
Zoroastrianism, 114
Zuñi pueblo, 276

DATE DUE

~~APR 2 [illegible] 02~~
~~FEB 2 6 [illegible]~~
JUN 15 1994
JUN 15 1995
~~OCT [illegible] 1995~~

GAYLORD
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

HT1521 .W23 c.2
Race and culture relations.
Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library
1 1012 00004 9967

68035